

Philippus neapolitanus
Hugo caesariensis
Galterius de s audemaro
Balduinus de insula
Jordanus de hybelino
Paganus de rohais
Andreas anjevins
Henricus magnus
Galterius de sepulcro
Symon ruffus
Gulficus de montibus

Naming Patterns

in the
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

IRIS SHAGRIR

NAMING PATTERNS

NAMING PATTERNS IN THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

JERUSALEM

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Preface

This study examines the major trends in the naming practices of the Franks of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem during the Kingdom's existence, between 1099 and 1291, and compares these patterns with the dominant trends in contemporary Catholic Europe, with the aim of exploring whether the Franks of the East adhered to the traditions of the Catholic West, or whether, and to what extent, they were influenced by their encounters in the East.

For this purpose, a computerized database was constructed, consisting of the personal names and details of some 6,200 individuals recorded in formal charters of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. For the purpose of comparison, the findings of Western European name studies were extensively surveyed, while some western name databases were constructed particularly for the purpose of this study.

The question of the relationship between the European culture of the Franks and the local culture of the Levant has been approached by many scholars over the preceding century, through various social and cultural perspectives. The perceptions of the relationship between west and east vary from 'a cultural synthesis of east and west' – a view dominant at the beginning of the 20th century – to the opposite depiction of the Franks as an alienated and segregated minority, the view expressed in the title of J. Prawer's book of 1972: *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*. In his discussion of the question 'Was there a Franco-Syrian Nation?', R. C. Smail suggested that the preconditions for the evolution of such a new and integrated nation had begun to appear in Latin Syria and Palestine, but this burgeoning was never completed, partly due to the brief existence of the Latin Kingdom¹. The self-perception of the Franks of *Outremer* has been analyzed on the basis of the statements of writers such as Fulcher of Chartres, William of Tyre and Jacques of Vitry, from which it has been suggested that the Franks perceived themselves as a new people in the making, united by mutual faith rather than by common descent².

Immigrant or colonizing groups may theoretically follow one of three patterns: (a) the group would adjust into the host society, gradually adapting to the host culture,

¹ Richard C. Smail, *The Crusaders in Syria and the Holy Land* (London, 1973), chapter 8. The issue of the mutual influence between the settlers and indigenous cultures may also be framed using the metropolis-colony construction, and the possible evolution of a "collective imagery", discussed, e.g., by Michel Balard, "Conclusion" in: *Coloniser au moyen âge* (Paris, 1995), pp. 395-396.

² See A.V. Murray, "Ethnic Identity in the Crusader States: The Frankish Race and the Settlement of Outremer" in: *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, eds. S. Forde, L. Johnson and A.V. Murray (Leeds, 1995), 59-73.

and would successively engender a cultural pattern akin to the local culture; (b) the settlers would withdraw from the host society and seal themselves against its influences, or (c) through the encounter with the local society, the group settling in a new area would gradually develop a pattern that is neither identical to the original old culture, nor identical to the local culture³.

Which way did the Frankish settlers in the East follow? While the first option has not been expressed in present-day studies of the crusader states, the second has been manifest as one aspect of the view that the Frankish was a colonial society which was non-receptive to Oriental culture, an alienation that emerged from a conscious attitude of superiority and contempt toward the local population. The Latin settlement accordingly formed a dependent relationship with the West, which accounted for its ultimate fall. This 'transplant' view of the Latin settlement in the East would assume that the Frankish naming patterns will show conformity with European attitudes, bearing characteristics identical, or very similar, to those found in Western Europe⁴.

The study of personal names, anthroponymy, offers a novel way to approach the issue. The analysis of the personal-name database may allow us to gauge more accurately the question of the Franks' receptiveness of local culture, and their orientation toward one model or the other⁵. The statistical measures used for analyzing the name stock provide more precise evidence on the preferences of the Franks in the Levant, and on the nexus between these particular preferences and those revealed in the Western European prototypes. The anthroponymic approach assumes, then, that personal names, as decision variables linked to socio-cultural attitudes, are expected to reflect changes in social context and socio-cultural interaction. Moreover, the polarity between the personal name's functions of defining the individual on the one hand, and of bonding into a collective on the other, is expected to have a greater meaning for a society undergoing a process of defining its group identity, through name-giving, among other parameters.

³ See Berry, J. W., "Acculturation and Adaptation in a New Society", *International Migration*, 30 (1992), pp. 69-85.

⁴ J. Prawer, "The Roots of Medieval Colonialism" in *The Meeting of Two Worlds. Cultural Exchange between East and West During the Period of the Crusades*, ed. V. P. Gross, (Michigan, 1986) pp. 23-37, quotation p. 30; these views were concisely summarized in Prawer's "The West meets East in the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem", in *M. Starosta Memorial Lectures* (first series), (Jerusalem, 1993) pp. 23-39 (in Hebrew). For a discussion of the historiography of the crusades and the Latin Kingdom see G. Constable, "The Historiography of the Crusades", in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh (Dumbarton Oaks, 2001) pp. 1-22; J. Riley-Smith, "The Crusading Movement and Historians", in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* (Oxford, 1995) pp. 1-12, and M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, "Multikulturelle Gesellschaft" oder "Persecuting Society"? "Franken" und "Einheimische" im Königreich Jerusalem", in *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter. Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung - Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen*, eds. K. Herbers, D. R. Bauer and N. Jaspert (Frankfurt/Main 2001) pp. 55-94.

⁵ The approach was originally suggested by B.Z. Kedar, who compiled the earliest form of the Frankish name file, which was expanded and refined for the purpose of this study. B.Z. Kedar, *Horns of Hattin*, p. 352.

The anthroponymic method and analyses developed in recent decades enable us to trace in detail the contours of the specific naming behavior of the Franks. While keeping in sight the wider picture, namely that the Frankish society did exhibit the basic patterns of the contemporary Western European naming behavior, the anthroponymic analysis pinpoints its detailed features and unique characteristics.

Given the non-homogenous ethnicity of the Latin settlers, it would be expected that the naming pattern of the Franks would diverge from the Western European, resulting in a greater variety of names that represented manifold regional, ethnic and dynastic traditions. But did the Franks borrow anything from their new neighbours? It seems that, without transgressing the lines of the major trends evolving in contemporary Western Europe, mainly of growing hagionymy and the disappearance of Germanic names, the Franks developed unique characteristics that may have been influenced by contacts with Eastern Christians, by local cults of saints and traditions related to the holy places, as well as having resulted from social diversity on the one hand, and particular self-perception on the other.

Abbreviations

CHEL	C. Clark, "Anthroponymy", <i>Cambridge History of the English Language, II</i> (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 551-587.
Delaville le Roulx	J. Delaville le Roulx, <i>Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1100-1300</i> , 4 vols. (Paris, 1894-1906).
GMAM	<i>Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie moderne</i> , 7 vols. (Tours, 1990-).
Mansi	G.D. Mansi, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> , 31 vols. (Florence and Venice, 1758-98).
MEFRM	<i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome</i> .
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> .
RRH	R. Röhricht, <i>Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani and its Additamentum</i> (Innsbruck, 1893-1904).
WNH	Clark, C., <i>Words, Names and History</i> , ed. P. Jackson (Woodbridge, 1995).
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i> .

CHAPTER 1

Name Studies: An Overview

What is anthroponymy?

Anthroponymy is the study of personal names¹. It is a domain of research that considers the personal name a valuable, though indirect, indicator of the individual's social and cultural affiliations. Anthroponymists usually study large stocks of personal names of defined groups, of individuals living in the same locality, belonging to the same family or kin, or participating in a common action. Methodologically, the study of anthroponymy is a statistically-oriented search for widespread socio-cultural trends in a mass of individuals about whom, in particular, little or nothing is known. Thus, seen as one of the means by which a social system can express itself, patterns of personal names are analyzed quantitatively with the purpose of tracing evolutions within groups and of discovering differences between groups. To a great extent, the interpretation of the findings derives its significance through a comparative approach.

The personal name serves two functions, both for the name-giver and for the historian studying it: the name serves to identify a unique individual and to classify the name-bearer and the name-giver, within a certain social and cultural milieu. The demonstrative function of the personal name, which singles out one person from the others, is a social necessity and a conventional mark; in this sense it is not essentially different from other proper nouns. Occasionally, the parents' choice of name may have been motivated by the lexical meanings of the medieval name, e.g.; Baldwin (audacious + friend); Omnibene; Pax; Maldottus (from *male doctus*); Vinciguerra (a hybrid compound of Latin and Germanic)². The name-choice may also be motivated by linking up to, or avoiding, a cultural message attached to a certain name, as in the cases of the relative popularity of the name Roland, an epic hero, contrasted with the extreme rarity of the name Ganelon (Ganellone, Wanelloni), a treacherous vassal, in medieval name stocks³. At the same time, a personal name locates its bearers (and its

¹ In today's multicultural societies the traditional 'baptismal name' and 'Christian name' are replaced by 'first name', 'given name' and 'forename'. The term 'Christian name' is used in this study to refer to a personal name of Christian content.

² However, names lose their etymological meaning quite rapidly and become 'extra-linguistic' forms.

³ M. Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L.A. Manyon (London, 1961) [1939-1940], p. 102. Another illustrative example is the absence of the name Absalom, a name of a disloyal son, from the name stock of African slaves in America, see C. A. Cody, "There was no 'Absalom' on the Ball Family Plantation: Slave Naming Practices in the South Carolina Low Country, 1720-1865", *American Historical Review* 92:3 (1987), pp. 563-596.

givers) within a socio-cultural climate, and thus serves to classify them, by e.g. indicating position in the family, lineage, social stratum, and regional or ethnic origin.

Numerous examples of meaningful name choices observed in contemporary name giving practices attest to the common ascription of significance, symbolic or other, to the personal name: using the personal name as a referent, or a 'denoter', of a social or spiritual affiliation; using its semantic connotations, e.g. Bern-hard 'bear-strong'; or choosing a name for its phonetic or morphological properties; choosing of, or refraining from, names of deceased people or living relatives (both may be perceived as either protective or potentially hazardous), naming after a distinguished figure, or choosing gender-ambiguous names. In a more traditional context, names may reflect ethnicity, religion, residence, position in lineage and other kinds of affiliation.

Personal expression and social relationship may of course be revealed in last names as well, with the common example being the change from maiden to marital name by women in most western societies. Meanings are also reflected in the choice of multiple first names and nicknames. "The combination of all names possessed by a person is an aggregation of his/ hers identity...a message for decoding".⁴ The fact that individuals may change their names over a lifetime, whether as a result of a change in position in the family structure, of taking a new office, or out of personal preference – attests to its significance. Giving a name (or changing a name) is an act of participation in creating a symbolic system, representing ideas and beliefs; a representation of a world vision.

For the historian studying names, these references may transform a non-narrative sequence of idionyms into a telling historical source. The personal name, therefore, bears seemingly two paradoxical functions: on the one hand the function of distinguishing an individual from other individuals, and, on the other, grouping individuals into their immediate social and cultural community⁵.

It is clear that a personal name has other functions in addition to identifying: choosing a name is also an act of socialization, an occasion for a social and religious ceremony, a symbol of entrance into the community. Naming patterns may thus serve for tracing significant trends in society. The characteristics of a name stock of any group of some cohesion may be analyzed as indirect cultural indicators of religious, cultural and social attitudes.

With regard to long-term changes within the stock of names, anthroponymists may ask the following questions: are new names introduced into the name stock? Are these new names drawn from a familiar repertory which has not been used before? is the invention or innovation of names based on nouns or adjectives from the general vocabulary? are innovative names imported from foreign cultures? To these general characteristics of the name stock are added the explicit or implicit codes of name-giving patterns: does the first name provide indication of the individual's role or

⁴ F. Zonabend, "Le nom de personne", *L'Homme* 20 (1980), pp. 17-18.

⁵ For a theoretical analysis see C. Levi-Strauss, *La Pensée sauvage* (Paris, 1973), ch. 6 ("Universalisation et particularisation") and ch. 7 ("L'individu comme espèce").

function in the society or within the family? of the person's appearance or qualities, of a locative reference? is the name supplemented by a surname? Are name choices influenced by the person of the name-giver, be it parent, godparent, priest? do codes reveal generational shifts, differentiation by type of locale or by social stratum?

Medieval anthroponymy and medieval social studies

Anthroponymy in medieval studies attempts to answer questions related to the understanding of medieval society by analyzing sources known and used before, but for different purposes.

Stocks of personal names are used as documents that shed light on, or highlight, social phenomena. Reflecting cultural change, changes in name pools accompany processes of cultural assimilation or segregation. Studies identify, for example, certain names used habitually by royal and high-aristocracy dynasties as 'noms de pouvoir' (names such as Otto, Henry, Fulk, Geoffrey, Charles), and trace the downward infiltration of these names into lower social strata⁶.

An early study of Parisian personal names in the end of the 13th century notes the adaptation of foreign names to the French ear, e.g. the Lombard 'Biccio' to the French-sounding 'Biche'⁷. A study of socio-cultural processes in a colonial society compared the processes brought about in Ireland following the Anglo-Norman conquest with the Frankish conquest of Palestine⁸. The study assembled the personal names from all the legal documents produced, received or testified to by Anglo-Norman nobles in Ireland up to 1210, to analyze the structure of the colonial nobility in Ireland, the changes within it, and its relationship with the indigenous ruling class. The conclusions draw a picture of total ethnic and social alienation between the

⁶ R. Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc (7e-10e siècle): essai d'anthropologie sociale* (Paris, 1995), pp. 214-216. Research on the diffusion of fashion has found in personal names a privileged case study, being a 'free but obligatory' product. Research in this area has highlighted the role of the social elite in forming socio-cultural trends, and examined the intersection of taste of social status reflected in the choice of first names. See G. Duby, "The Diffusion of Cultural Patterns in Feudal Society", *Past and Present* 39 (1968) pp. 3-10, and Ph. Besnard, "Pour une étude empirique du phénomène de mode dans la consommation des biens symboliques: le cas des prénoms", *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 20 (1979) pp. 343-351, and recently, S. Lieberman, *A Matter of Taste* (Yale, 2000).

⁷ K. Michaëlsson, *Études sur les noms de personne français* (Uppsala, 1927), p. 52. On the rolls used by Michaëlsson see also: C. Bourlet, "L'Anthroponymie à Paris à la fin du 13e siècle d'après les rôles de la taille du Phillip le Bel", *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie moderne (GMAM)*, 2, eds. M. Bourin and P. Chareille (Tours, 1992), pp. 9-45.

⁸ R. Bartlett, "Colonial Aristocracies of the High Middle Ages", in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds. R. Bartlett and A. Mackay (Oxford, 1989), pp. 23-47. Bartlett's analysis is not based on a statistical sample or a full database of Frankish names. More recently on personal and cultural contacts between neighbouring cultures: R. Bartlett, "Cults of Irish, Scottish and Welsh saints in twelfth-century England", in B. Smith, ed. *Britain and Ireland, 900-1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 67-86.

colonizing nobility and the native population. Most noble names are of Northern French origin (i.e. Geoffrey, Henry, Richard, Robert and William), and names typical of the French and Norman aristocracy (Gilbert, Hugh, Ralph, Raymond, Roger, Walter). These names imply the dominance, in the 12th century, of the French-speaking newcomers in the ruling class.

In another study of the interaction between immigrant settlers and local society – in post-conquest England – a meaningful divergence was found between the change in women's names from insular (Anglo-Saxon) to continental (Norman/French) origin, and the change in men's personal names. The transformation among women lags far behind the change among men. The personal names are used to argue for the greater role of English women of insular origin in preserving and transmitting Anglo-Saxon traditions, both in personal names patterns and, presumably, in language as a whole. This post-conquest pattern is perhaps even more intriguing when contrasted with the process reported in regional studies in France, where, during the 10th–15th centuries, the substitution of Germanic names with Christian ones proceeded faster among women than in men, while in England the women's name repertory was more conservative, implying, perhaps, persistence of native traditions or scarcity of women's name models⁹.

With the objects set forth by these studies, and other objects, name studies is construed as a sub-discipline of the social history of the Middle Ages. It is perhaps an under-exploited, but a rapidly growing, area of study in medieval studies¹⁰. It should be stressed that while anthroponymy calls for the compilation and analysis of databases as extensive as possible, the study becomes most meaningful in an inter-cultural comparative perspective. Anthroponymy is a statistically-minded approach, deriving its inspiration from the social sciences, and therefore concerned with large trends, with the mass – with individuals whose attitudes cannot be investigated directly, as they left no imprint but their names; these personal names alone may be used to outline their attitudes. Most studies conducted today use quantitative methods that inform of the system and the structure of the naming-behavior, but it should be remembered that each name was chosen for just one person, and that all the personal-name databases evolve primarily from a qualitative and an individual decision.

Anthroponymy was employed in recent research in three areas: a) historical demography: the examination of groups' geographical places of origin, and trends in

⁹ C. Clark, "Women's Names in Post-Conquest England", *Speculum* 53 (1978), p. 236.

¹⁰ The study of first names as an indicator of social orientations is not new. Psycho-sociological studies conducted in the US in the first decades of the 20th century examined changes in name-giving tendencies, using small samples. Socio-linguistic studies have analyzed the functions of first names as address terminology, and socio-ethnological studies attempted to identify, for instance, the factors that determine name-choice with reference to the newborns' sex and birth order. The main arguments are found in Ph. Besnard, "De la sous-exploitation des prénoms dans la recherche sociologique", in *Le prénom. Mode et Histoire*, eds. J. Dupaquier, A. Bideau, M-E. Ducreux (Paris, 1984), pp.51-59.

population mobility/stability and settlement models¹¹; b) physical anthropology, attempting to link regional patterns and name-transmission patterns for reconstructing genealogies and kin relations; and c) history of mentality, examining patterns of religious or national devotion and their evolution.

While personal names in the Middle Ages served both functions of identifying and integrating, the phenomenon documented by medieval anthroponymists – of gradual decreasing variety of personal names being used for an ever growing population – tends to neutralize the personal name's capacity as an identifier. To be useful as an identification system, an effective personal-name system should be a rich and variegated one. Otherwise, singularity perhaps is not the main *raison d'être* of a personal name. In other words, naming practices may be governed by motives other than simple identification of the individual; this in itself may be counted as a significant characteristic of a social group.

Moreover, names may not necessarily reflect only personal preferences, therefore anthroponymists also examine additional mechanisms operating in name choice and giving. It is known, for example, that in some Mediterranean and other societies strict modes of name transmission have been and still are at work. In a common Mediterranean mode of name transmission, the elder son is named after his paternal grandfather and the next in line receives the name of his maternal grandfather; with daughters the symmetry is inverse: the elder receives the name of her maternal grandmother¹². In other cases, newborns receive the names of their godparents, a practice which enabled parents to extend or intensify the bonds within their community, and may have had material benefits attached to it. Yet, the existing evidence of the link between name-giving and godparenthood in Catholic Europe before the 13th century still does not shape into a coherent picture¹³.

Several mechanisms of name giving exist in modern societies, which have their

¹¹ e.g. E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Les Paysans de Languedoc* (Paris, 1966) (chapter 3 "Migrations et tentations du nord"). See also: A. D. Lavender, "United States Ethnic Groups in 1790: Given Names as Suggestions of Ethnic Identity", *Journal of American Ethnic History* 9 (1989), pp. 36–66.

¹² A. Fine, "L'héritage du nom de baptême", *Annales ESC* 42 (1987), pp. 853–877. This traditional mode often implies a connection between name and inheritance by the elder son, along with the inheritance of material wealth. On other modes of naming siblings see G.T. Beech, "Dévolution des noms et structure de la famille", *L'anthroponymie, document de l'histoire sociale des mondes méditerranéens médiévaux. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École Française de Rome*, 226 (Rome, 1996), pp. 401–411.

¹³ M. Bennet, "Spiritual Kinship and the Baptismal Name in Traditional European Society", in L.O. Frappell, *Principalities, Powers and Estates* (Adelaide, 1979), pp. 1–14. Bennet investigated the impact godparenthood on the means of naming from the 5th to the 18th century and found in some cases a tight link between the two, for example in England from the 14th century 90% of the noblemen were named after a godparent. On the other hand, J.H. Lynch, in *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 172–173, states that, at least until the 11th century and especially among nobles, even a child named *by* a godparent was not necessarily named *after* the godparent. Guidelines confounding the choice of names may also operate in modern societies by mechanisms other than familial ones. See M. Leon, "Of Names and First Names in a Small French Rural Community: Linguistic and Sociological Approaches", *Semiotica* 17:3 (1976), pp. 211–231.

roots in traditional norms. Families may perpetuate a few names using various mechanisms. A 15th century father from Roquebillière (Provence), asked by the baptizing priest for his newborn's name, answered: "My grandfather's name was Méou (Barthélemy), my father's name was Méou, my name is Méou, I want my son to be named Méou too"¹⁴. In this way a few names become characteristic of a lineage, inducing remembrance of ancestors and shaping family memory. In some societies (e.g. North American) these modes operate today through a second personal name (middle name), while the first is governed by other, non-familial mechanisms¹⁵. In addition to the mode of transfer of naming after grandparents the first two newborns of each sex, the head of the household, often the paternal grandfather, may have the prerogative of naming his grandchildren not in keeping with tradition, therefore introducing new names into the family name stock¹⁶.

Main research projects in Western Europe

Many researchers and research groups, and several periodicals (e.g. *Medieval Prosopography*, *Names*, *Nomina*, *Onoma*, and *Prosopon*) are engaged in the study of medieval names, following onomastic, prosopographic or anthroponymic pursuits¹⁷.

The French research group, started at the University of Tours has been publishing, since 1990 the series *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie moderne*, a collection of French regional and comparative studies. This research team uses documents from

¹⁴ P. Canestrier, "Prénoms et noms dans le comté de Nice", *Revue Internationale d'Onomastique* 3 (1951), p. 150.

¹⁵ F. Zonabend, "Jeux de noms. Les noms de personnes à Minot", *Etudes Rurales* 74 (1979), pp. 51-85. In France, however, name-choice was subjected, up to the Revolution, to ecclesiastical control, and in 1803 was legally restricted by the republican law of 11 germinal Year XI (April 1st 1803) ordaining that: "Les noms en usage dans les différents calendriers et ceux des personnages connus dans l'histoire ancienne pourront seuls être reçus comme prénoms sur les registres de l'état civil...et il est interdit aux officiers de l'état civil d'en admettre aucun autre dans leurs actes", see: J. Malherbe, *La vie privée et le droit moderne* (Lyons, 1968) p.79. Also: R. Munday, "The Girl they Named Manhattan: The Law of Forenames in France and in England", *Legal Studies* 5 (1985), pp.331-344, and A. Lefebvre-Teillard, *Le nom: droit et histoire* (Paris, 1990). Naming according to a calendar (by which certain venerated names are attached to each day of the week) was also known in medieval Islam, see: R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young, "A Note on Muslim Name Giving According to the Day of the Week", *Arabica* 24 (1977) pp.326-328.

¹⁶ Fine, "L'héritage du nom de baptême", p.856.

¹⁷ Anthroponymy is a branch of onomastics, but while onomastics deals with names in general (including place names and other proper names) and often with a linguistic approach, anthroponymy studies personal names in particular, with a social approach. Prosopography, also known as "collective biography" and "multiple career-line analysis", attempts to assemble and examine the fullest possible personal data for the purpose of studying political power structures and social trajectories. For discussion of prosopography in the medieval context see: G.T. Beech, "The Scope of Medieval Prosopography", *Medieval Prosopography*, 1 (1980), pp. 3-7; L. Stone, "Prosopography" in idem, *The Past and the Present Revisited* (London and New York, 1987), pp. 45-73; G.T. Beech, "Prosopography" in J.M. Powell, *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Syracuse, NY, 1992), pp. 185-226.

rural and urban areas of France in different periods. The studies analyze the data systematically, with the goal of establishing a comprehensive 'geography of names'¹⁸, that will allow general phenomena to be discerned, while at the same time accounting for local-specific and group-specific characteristics. They also address names in literary works and the theoretical aspects of the use of names. In correspondence with the French project, groups active in Italy (located at the École Française de Rome), currently study Italian and Mediterranean anthroponymic phenomena, and studies of the Iberian peninsula were undertaken by teams at the universities of Santiago de Compostela and Valladolid.

A German collaborative project (joining historians and linguists) titled *Nomen et Gens* has recently undertaken the compilation of a comprehensive database and study of personal names of the early Germanic peoples¹⁹. Current research, to name just a few examples, addresses the development of naming systems in Germany²⁰, the Slavic realm and the Low Countries, as well as particular groups undergoing processes of social change²¹. Studies of English anthroponymic history contain extensive research of Anglo-Norman personal names conducted in the Centre for English Local History, at Leicester University, which specializes in comparative historical study of regional societies²², and in the Unit for Prosopographical Research, at Oxford University, which has developed a computerized database of the prosopography of Post-Conquest England entitled COEL (The Continental Origins of English Landholders) and provides methodological reference for anthroponymy and prosopography²³. A recent

¹⁸ M. Bourin, "France du Midi et France du Nord: Deux systèmes anthroponymiques", *L'Anthroponymie: Document de l'histoire sociale des mondes méditerranéens médiévaux. Actes du colloque international. Collection de l'École Française de Rome*, 226 (Rome, 1996), p. 189.

¹⁹ D. Geuenich, et al., *Nomen und Gens: Zur historischen Aussagekraft frühmittelalterlichen Personennamen* (Berlin, 1997); J. Jarnut, "Nomen et Gens. Political and Linguistic Aspects of Personal Names from the 3rd to the 8th Centuries A. D. Presentation of an Interdisciplinary Project from an Historical Viewpoint", *Medieval Prosopography* 16/2 (1996) pp.143-149.

²⁰ A Freiburg project constructed a computerized data bank of about 400,000 names appearing in medieval documents, and designed techniques to tackle difficulties of anthroponymic and prosopographic research: D. Geuenich, "Eine Datenbank zur Erforschung mittelalterlicher Personen und Personengruppen", in *Medieval Lives and the Historian*, eds. N. Bulst and J.-Ph. Genet (Kalamazoo, 1986), pp. 405-417, and other studies in the same volume.

²¹ For example Z. Kaleta, "The Evolutionary Stages of Slavic Surnames in the Context of European Name-Giving", *Onoma* 29 (1987-89), pp.11-25; S.C. Watkins and A.S. London, "Personal Names and Cultural Change. A Study of the Naming Patterns of Italians and Jews in the United States in 1910", *Social Science History* 18(1994) 169-209. For a detailed collection of references see also *Namenforschung, An International Handbook of Onomastics*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1995).

²² D. Postles, "Notions of the Family, Lordship and the Evolution of Naming Processes in Medieval English Rural Society: a Regional Example", *Continuity and Change* 10 (1995); C. Clark, "Anthroponymy", *Cambridge History of the English Language*, II (Cambridge, 1992), 551-587; *idem* "Clark's First Three Laws of Applied Anthroponymics", in *Words, Names and History*, ed. P. Jackson (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 77-83; *idem*, "Domesday Book - A Great Red Herring: Thoughts on Some 11th Century Orthographics", in *WNH*, pp. 144-155.

²³ *Domesday Names. An Index of Latin Personal and Place Names in Domesday Book*, compiled by K.S.B. Keats-Rohan and David E. Thornton (Woodbridge, 1997); K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People. A*

project, PASE (The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England) at King's College, London, aims to provide a biographical register of the inhabitants of Anglo-Saxon England (c. 450-1066)²⁴.

Finally, it should be noted that name studies are not restricted to anthroponyms, but include as well, toponyms, names of rivers, ships, pet animals, and more.

Major anthroponymic findings in Catholic Europe

Research on the development of name stocks in Catholic Europe in the 11th-15th centuries has highlighted two related phenomena: 1) a twofold transitional process of condensation of the name stock and substitution of hitherto commonly-used names with new ones; and 2) change in the naming-system: the addition of a second name (by-name, surname)²⁵.

1. *Changes within the Personal Name-Stock*

Based on an examination of isolated regions, towns or villages, studies have established the transformation in the nature of the name stock from a mainly Germanic name pool in the Carolingian period, to mainly Christian by the end of the 14th century.

Several factors are suggested to have contributed to the Christianization of the name stock. The belief in the power of saints and popular devotion to central saints, which were expressed, for example, in church dedications, artistic depiction, cult of relics and pilgrimages, had a strong influence on the naming of children (up to the 15th century the impact of local saints on naming was marginal). Important factors are the stabilization of liturgical rituals, especially saints' commemoration days, pilgrimages, invention and cult of relics, the crusades²⁶, and the requirement of the

Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166 (Woodbridge, 1999). See also: K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, ed., *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics. The Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 1997).

²⁴ D.A.E. Pelteret, "The Challenges of Constructing the PASE Database", *Medieval Prosopography* 22 (2001), pp. 117-125.

²⁵ G. Duby, "Lignage, noblesse et chevalerie au 12e siècle dans la région mâconnaise", *Annales ESC* 27 (1972), pp. 803-823; J.-L. Biget, "L'évolution des noms de baptême en Languedoc au moyen âge", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 17 (1982), pp. 297-341; B. Guenée, "Historiographie épiscopale et modèle familial en occident au IXe siècle", *Annales ESC* 33 (1978), pp. 433-477; L. Perouas et al., *Leonard, Marie, Jean et les autres. Les prénoms en Limousin depuis un millénaire* (Paris, 1984); *GMAM*, II (1-2): "Persistances du nom unique".

²⁶ See J. Heers, *L'Occident aux XIVe-XVe siècles. Aspects économiques et sociaux* (Paris, 1966), p. 343; J. Maitre, "Les fréquences des prénoms de baptême en France. Rite de dénomination et linguistique statistique", *L'année sociologique* 15 (1964) 31-74; Michaëlsson, op. cit., 66-71; Bourin, "France du Midi"; Canestrier, op. cit. pp. 147-149 examines prevalent types of first names in notarial and other documents,

church in the 12th century that newborns be christened as soon as possible after birth. The *quam primum*²⁷ requirement accelerated the choice of name of Christian content, as it bound the occasion of naming with the religious ceremony held in church and in the presence of a priest²⁸. Indeed, some names of Germanic origin acquired over time a Christian-spiritual significance and prevailed in the name stock by that virtue²⁹.

Names of Germanic origin are found to be more characteristic of medieval higher nobility, which seems in general more resistant to the change. Name patterns of the nobility show various phenomena: research on the French nobility families has shown that certain names passed from one generation to another and became characteristic of a family³⁰. On the other hand, marriage between aristocratic families inserted new names, which may have been non-Germanic, into the family tree, especially if they married, as ordained by canon law, distant cousins³¹.

The common view holds that the dominant names of the high nobility spread by way of imitation and intermarriage into the lower nobility and the peasantry. English studies, for example, document the revolution in insular naming culminating in the immediate post-conquest period, which expressed itself in a contrast between Norman noble settlers who carried continental personal names (and often toponymic by-names of French domains), while the peasant population clung to its traditional

finding at the end of the 11th century that the common names are those of the counts of Provence, names of classical heroes, attributive names, vegetal/animal names, and names from Germanic (often Latinized) and Gallo-Roman origin.

²⁷ On the repeated instructions of the Church on this matter see: P. Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'occident barbare* (Paris, 1962), p. 482 and O. Pontal, *Les statuts synodaux français du XIII^e siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1983) p.280. An ecumenical decree was issued at the Council of Florence (1431-1445), stating that baptism should be conferred as soon as possible (*quam primum commode*), and in case of an imminent danger of death, infants should be baptized even by a lay man or a woman if there is no priest on the spot, see Mansi, *Concilia*, vol. 31B, cols.1738-1739. However, the definition of 'as soon as possible' remained vague for many years, see D. M. Schnurr, *The 'quamprimum' of infant Baptism in the Western Church* (unpublished dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1980).

²⁸ On the other hand, it may be argued that up to the *quam primum* requirement, naming a newborn was associated more closely with integration into the family and the immediate community, rather than into the Christian congregation. It also should be noted that neonatal baptism was the desired state of affairs, but was not universally practiced in the Middle Ages and Early Modern times. See J. Maitre, "Les fréquences des prénoms de baptême en France. Rite de dénomination et linguistique statistique", *L'Année Sociologique* 15 (1964) pp. 31-74.

²⁹ As in the case of William, whose popularity might have been influenced also by the regional veneration of St. William of Gellone, a member of the Carolingian dynasty, whose cult is known to date from the 10th century (d.812, canonized in 1066 by Alexander II).

³⁰ A glance at French genealogies shows this clearly: in the house of Plantagenet (Anjou) out of eleven rulers from 900 to 1200, five are named Fulk and four are named Geoffrey; in Aquitaine from around 900 to the middle of the 12th century, out of thirteen male rulers, ten are named William; and of the eleven Dukes of Burgundy in the 300 years following its creation in 1025, five are named Hugo and five Eudo.

³¹ Duby, "Lignage, noblesse et chevalerie", p. 806. The prohibited degrees of consanguinity were pruned from seven to four by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, see J. A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago, 1987), pp. 355-357.

names. Though initially an aristocratic phenomenon, by the middle of the 13th century pre-Conquest Anglo-Scandinavian names became extremely rare in all social strata. This pattern, however, is not born out by all anthroponymic studies of social groups, suggesting that this name-fashion transmission mechanism is not ubiquitous, and that other mechanisms may have been at work³².

It has been suggested that the institution of godparenthood, observed since the Carolingian period and significantly from the 12th century onward, interfered with the transformation of the European name-stock. The nature of this interference is disputed. J.-L. Biget proposed that godparenthood fostered traditionalism in name-giving, and thus slowed down the transformation of the name-stock; on the other hand, B. Guenée suggested that the dramatic onomastic transformation of the 11th–12th centuries may be partly attributed to expansion of godparenthood³³. This may be true especially in the context of baptizing pagans and other non-Christians.

Changes occurred also within the Christian name corpus itself. Some names entered the stock slowly, late, or never, especially some core evangelical names like Maria (and its variants), which was probably subjected to an informal ban until the 10th century, John, which began its rise in the 12th century, and Jesus, which is still very rare in most European societies. On the other hand, Old Testament names began to decline in 11th–12th centuries.

Regional analyses show that the nature and pace of transitions were not uniform. The strong effect of the cult of saints implies variation in regional predominant names (although they can still be generalized as one type of Christian names). Studies have also shown that the impact of a cult of a saint on name giving is not automatic: saints may be popular in a region but their names not commonly given to newborns.³⁴ Comparative analysis also shows that regional variation exists with regard to the onset and the rate of the global processes: in southern France the contraction and Christianization of the name stock occurred earlier compared with northern France. In certain specific groups, as among the clergy, and perhaps among women, the processes had yet special and particular traits³⁵.

³² G. T. Beech, "Les noms de personne poitevins du 9^e au 12^e siècle", *Revue Internationale d'Onomastique* 26 (1974), pp. 81–100, cites the example of Guillaume, name of the dukes of Aquitaine, which became popular among the lower nobility and landed proprietors. See also C. Clark, "Willelmus rex? vel alius Willelmus?", in *WNH*, p. 281.

³³ J.-L. Biget, "L'évolution des noms de baptême en Languedoc au moyen âge", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 17 (1982), p. 309; B. Guenée, "Historiographie épiscopale et modèle familial en occident au IX^e siècle", *Annales ESC* 33 (1978), p. 457.

³⁴ For example, the name Gilles is rare in Southern France despite the local popularity of Saint Gilles; see Michaëlsson, p. 69.

³⁵ M. Bourin, "France du Midi", pp. 179–190; M. Bourin and B. Chevalier, "L'enquête: buts et méthodes", *GMAM*, 1990, pp. 7–12.

2. *The addition of a by-name*

Analogous to the process of contraction of the name stock was the process of addition of a second name, documented since the first half of the 11th century, with its diffusion increasing ever after. The added by-name could be at this period a toponym, profession, nickname, family affiliation or another anthroponym.

The increase in homonymy is often linked to the appearance of a surname. Clearly, multiple homonyms can create confusion that could be solved by adding a descriptor to the first name. In the 11th century this was often done by indicating filiation, e.g., "Riculfus filius Adile"; profession, e.g. "Gisulfus presbyter"; a locative by-name, e.g. Gaufridus de Aquilea; a nickname: "Petrus cognomento Balbus"; an explanatory phrase: "Johannes qui dicitur Clericus", or, for women – by husband's or father's name: "Lantruda conjux Johannis", "Ingilberta filia Petri"³⁶.

A direct causal relationship between homonymy and the addition of a surname is not supported by recent research. The processes do not occur at the same pace and rate, and there are significant differences between regions and groups. For example, among women there are fewer homonyms, yet the decrease in the use of a single name in women is not essentially different from that in men.

The assumption that the revolution in the naming system occurred first in the higher levels of society and filtered downwards to non-nobles is also not supported by European research. In certain regions of France, such a process can be discerned, but it is not a global phenomenon, and in some areas (Agde, Vendôme) the process of addition of a second name is contemporaneous among nobles and non-nobles, while the group that lags significantly behind is the clergymen³⁷.

The adding of a second name should be understood in the context of various social factors: demographic increase and a growing inclination to define persons more rigorously with the refinement of bureaucratic procedures, the placement of the individual within the context of the larger community, especially in an urban context, an indication of emergence from the cellular family into the community, a sign of growing participation in public life; a fashionable practice that diffuses in a 'contagious' manner, and finally, the evolution of the name as a social marker. To these might perhaps be added the general impoverishment of the Germanic languages, from which the stock of names was drawn³⁸.

³⁶ P. Canestrier, "Prénoms et nom dans le comté de Nice depuis le XI^e siècle", *Revue Internationale d'Onomastique* 3 (1951), pp. 139-151, quote pp. 141-142. In some pre-modern societies the personal name itself comprised this filiation: among the inhabitants of Tory Island, a person's exact position in a lineage can be reckoned from the first name, which is in fact, a double, triple (or more) combination of personal, and ancestral first names: For example: "Jimmyvurryvilly" = Jimmy (of) Marie (of) Billy. See R. Fox, *The Tory Islanders. A People of the Celtic Fringe* (Cambridge, 1978) esp. pp. 73-81, on the naming system.

³⁷ M. Bourin and P. Chareille, "En forme de conclusion générale: bilans et projets", *Persistances du nom unique*, GMAM II-2 (Paris, 1992), pp. 301-321.

³⁸ Postles, "Notions of the Family", pp. 169-198.

The development in England broadly resembles that of France. The 12th century name stock of over 500 Continental-Germanic male first names had contracted, by the early 13th century, into a stock of merely about 20 names of Continental-Germanic and Christian origin³⁹. In the early twelfth century large sections of the English population had only a single name, while the general stock of names shrank and became more Christianized. Research indicates that the process of addition of a second name was slow, occurred initially among the higher classes, and was generally analogous everywhere to the condensation and concentration of the stock of first names⁴⁰. Concurrent with the spread of by-names in Western Europe was the process of fixation of hereditary surnames, in a process of great regional and social variation. There is evidence of hereditary transmission of surnames in most regions of France during the course of the 12th century, but the system stabilized in a general fashion only around the end of the 15th century⁴¹.

Methodological issues

From a methodological point of view, the two dominant branches of European anthroponymic research take different approaches. The French anthroponymic studies published under the title of *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie moderne (GMAM)* aim at exploring the evolution of the modern naming system, which appeared as a third phase in historical anthroponymy, beginning with the disappearance of the complex Roman naming system, its replacement by a single-component system in the early middle ages, and the emergence of the current double-component system. This evolution touches upon socio-cultural, religious and dynastic dynamics, and upon the changes observed in personal naming patterns: the renewal of the name stock, the expansion of homonymy, and the ever more Christianized choice of names.

The regional studies set their aims clearly and uniformly, and employ standardized tools and methods of statistical anthroponymic analysis. The findings plot frequency distributions using consistent statistical indexes and focus on the quantitative structure of name distributions: the degree of clustering, the relationship between common and rare personal names, the differences between various groups of society (clerics, laymen, semi-urban, urban, rural), local evolutions, and the rate and pace of these processes. These studies will provide for a large-scale understanding of the differential evolutions in groups, regions and ethnicities of continental medieval Europe.

English name studies pursue more variegated approaches and methods. In many of the studies, anthroponymy is often auxiliary in the examination of settlement and

³⁹ Postles, "Notions of the Family", pp.170-171.

⁴⁰ M. Bourin, "France du Midi", pp. 179-202.

⁴¹ On the process in the middle ages and later legislation concerning surnames see Lefebvre-Teillard, *Le nom*, pp.25-48.

migration patterns, ethnic or national divisions, socio-linguistics and socio-economic stratification in pre- and post-conquest England. The Unit for Prosopographical Research at Oxford University conducts a genealogically oriented research with a dual emphasis on onomastics and genealogy within the broader context of prosopography. The Leicester University Department of English Local History focuses on socio-onomastic and geographical approaches.

Some of the inherent characteristics of the European name stock in the Middle Ages create obvious methodological obstacles. Multiple homonyms, and the fact that the lower strata, the mass of the population, sometimes received a second name later and more slowly than did the thinner layer of the nobility, raise problems of identification. Variations of names were created by scribes: names were usually spelled phonetically without fixed rules, and since pronunciation differed in different regions, the written form changed as well. Inconsistent and incomplete spelling, errors of copyists, and variations in name forms (e. g. Latinized versus vernacular) add confusion; a study of names in Hörter, a German town in the late Middle Ages found, for example, that names of individuals from the upper class were regularly written in a fuller and more consistent form than the names of those of humbler social status⁴².

Problems also evolve from elision of prefixes like *le* or *de* to the name. In addition, baptismal names were not in all cases the names used in daily communication, and the same person might be registered under two different names in different types of documents.

Some methodological difficulties evolve from decisions related to the processing of data. These issues are usually grouped under the title 'nominal record linkage'⁴³, and include the problem of cut-off between periods and the counting of individuals appearing in more than one chronological section, accounting for chronological gaps, the existence of multiple common names, and the problem of linking them with one another, i.e. is John Smith of list A the same person as John Smith of list B?

An increase in the frequency of a first name does not necessarily indicate an increase in its popularity: it may be a result of an increase in the population size for a given repertory of names. Therefore specific anthroponymic indexes were designed to analyze popularity of names and changes in their distribution: a condensation index that presents the number of names used per 100 individuals; and a concentration index that presents the percentage of individuals carrying the *x* most frequent names⁴⁴.

⁴² H. Rüthing, "Der Wechsel Personennamen in einer spätmittelalterlichen Stadt. Zum Problem der Identifizierung von Personen und zum sozialen Status von Stadtbewohnern mit wechselnden oder unvollständigen Namen", in *Medieval Lives and the Historian. Studies in Medieval Prosopography*, eds. N. Bulst and J.-Ph. Genet (Kalamazoo, 1982), pp. 215-226. A similar phenomenon occurred in Domesday Book of 1086 where "the surnames of tenants [were] the commonest casualty of the abbreviation process", K. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p.32.

⁴³ See E.A. Wrigley, *Identifying People in the Past* (London, 1973).

⁴⁴ See chapter 3 below, sections 1.b. and 1.c..

The study of the Frankish settler society in the East raises additional methodological caveats. Because the Latin society in the Levant was an ethnically heterogeneous one, its onomasticon may be a combination of the differential effects of various European naming customs. The pattern, then, may not be as uniform and constant as one would expect to find in a European region, over a comparative period of time. Since a vital significance of the findings is how they compare with European ones, a corollary dilemma is with what to compare: should the reference be made to few main European countries? To 'global' European trends? To the specific settler groups' primary areas of origin? Perhaps a comparison with European urban centres is appropriate, due to their supposedly more cosmopolitan name stock, yet we know that a great many crusaders came from non-urban localities. These questions will be addressed below in chapter 4.

Data in the Frankish Kingdom, as in Catholic Europe, are derived from sources distributed unevenly over the social classes: most of the data we possess – personal details, prosopographic and anthroponymic information – pertain to the upper layers of Frankish society. Yet, due to changes in status that occurred upon the conquest and the settlement of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, distinguishing between social strata may not be straightforward. Problems of name spelling and variations may become ominous if we consider the fact that scribes were often faced with names or name-variations unfamiliar to them and this resulted in sometimes capricious orthography. For example, Baldwin is spelled: *Baldevinus*, *Baldewinus*, *Baldoinus*, *Baldouinus*, *Baldoynus*, *Balduinus*, *Baldwinus*, *Baudinius*, *Baudoinus* – and these are only the Latinized forms; the locative by-name of the well-known *Hubertus de Paci*, probably the founder of *Casal Imbert* (the present day *Akhziv*), is spelled: *Patci*, *Pazi* and *Paceo*⁴⁵. Finally, while most studies in Catholic Europe use names from fairly homogenous communities, the non-homogenous ethnicity of the Latin settlers may result in a highly variegated stock of names, with a greater assortment of names than found in any contemporary region in Catholic Europe, and this complicates still more the comparability of the name-stocks.

⁴⁵ *RRH* 101, 134, 281 and 129a. Hubert probably came from Pacy-sur-Eure, a town in Normandy.

CHAPTER 2

Data and Method

1. Description of data: database sources and characteristics

1a. The historical sources

The data for this research were gathered from legal and commercial documents of the Latin Kingdom, recording acts and transactions conducted in the Frankish East between 1099 and 1291. The personal names of individuals who took part and attested to these acts were extracted mainly from the c. 2460 documents collected by R. Röhricht in *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* and its *Additamentum* (1893-1904) and the few additions included in the 190 documents in G. Bresc-Bautier's *Le Cartulaire du Chapitre du Saint Sépulchre de Jérusalem*¹. The collections are based on the original manuscripts and on medieval and post-medieval copies of the Kingdom's formal documents, which had survived the almost total destruction of the royal and ecclesiastical archives; they necessarily represent only a part of the Kingdom's paperwork². Unlike narrative accounts of crusades and of the Latin Kingdom, these charters are a privileged source for extracting a mass of names of people most likely to have been permanent settlers of the kingdom³.

The documents are formal in character; the majority contain a date and a place of redaction, and refer to papal, ecclesiastical, imperial, regal, seignorial and communal affairs, as well as matters of the military orders. Witness lists appear in nearly all documents in hierarchic order, beginning with churchmen, royals, nobles and non-noble witnesses.

¹ G. Bresc-Bautier's *Le Cartulaire du Chapitre du Saint Sépulchre de Jérusalem*, Paris 1984). Additional sources that were surveyed are: R. Röhricht, "Syria Sacra", *ZDPV*, vols. 10-11 (1887-1888); V. Polonio, *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto* (Genoa, 1982); M. Balard, *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro* (Genoa, 1983); id. *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto* (Genoa, 1983); R. Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter* (Göttingen, 1972-1984), 2 vols.; R. Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande* (Göttingen, 1985); L. Balletto, "Fonti notarili genovesi del secondo Duccentio per la storia del Regno Latino di Gerusalemme", in *I Comuni Italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, eds. G. Airal di and B.Z. Kedar (Genoa, 1986); *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Laiazzo* (Genoa, 1989), pp. 175-279; H.E. Mayer, *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem* (Hanover, 1996) (*MGH, Schriften*, vol. 40/1-2).

² Mayer, *Die Kanzlei* (*MGH, Schriften*, vol. 40/1), p.4.

³ For a useful general description of the sources of the Latin Kingdom, albeit focused on the last third of the 12th century, see B. Hamilton, *The Leper King and his Heirs* (Cambridge, 2000), chapter 1.

The charters are written mostly in Latin by Latin scribes (royal, ecclesiastical or other); some documents are written in French (*gallice*). The personal names in the documents are rendered mostly in Latin (e.g. Valentinus, Petrus), Latinized forms (Galterius for Walter), French (Gautier) or hybrid (Gauterius, Rizardus), but also in Italian (Petro, Friderico) or German (Richart, Conrat). Sobriquets or nicknames (e.g. Argumentus) are rare in the charters.

2. Construction of the database

2a. Periodical divisions and dating of individuals

I divided the database into six chronological periods, each stretching roughly 30 years, as follows: 1100-1129; 1130-1159; 1160-1189; 1190-1219; 1220-1249; 1250-1291. These sections occasionally correspond with milestones in the kingdom's history, e.g. the arrival in 1129 of Fulk, Count of Anjou and his Angevine following, the arriving of the third crusade, and the crusades of Louis IX of France. This is the most common periodization found in the anthroponymic literature as well. The distribution of people is naturally not even: thus the periods contain respectively: 565; 1046; 1772, 766; 1263; and 762 individuals. Since each period forms a sample of different size, and – as will be shown later – sample sizes affect the statistical measures, I use random uniform samples of 100/250/500 individuals from each period, to provide greater statistical accuracy. Other options for periodical divisions were considered: pre- and post-1187, which seems too large, or a division by reigns, which oftentimes seems truncated. I use, however, an alternative periodization by crusades, a division that may account for new sources of influence coming in with great crusaders and their trains.

Most individuals recorded in the documents are male adults (as in all medieval documents, and here too, women's names are scarce). A few, of noble families, are recorded as minors (i.e. under 15 years of age). As a rule, each personal name was entered in the database once with its earliest date on record (i.e. a person is attached to the period of first mention), thus minimizing the time elapsed since birth, and reflecting more accurately the tendencies at the time of name-giving. Also, the earliest date is preferable since an individual may be mentioned after death, but not before birth.

2b. Identifying individuals

Out of the documents some 6,200 personal names were extracted. Much effort has been made to ensure that a person is recorded once only. People with identical names may be distinguished by various criteria: date-gap, locality, position in witness list and affiliation, but even after these criteria are used, some ambiguities remain.

This process of identifying individuals is often tricky because by-names and identi-

fying items may change between the records; a person may be recorded in different capacities in his lifetime, as his career moves on and upon changing title, position or residence; likewise, churchmen and members of military orders may rise in internal hierarchy. Also, a person may appear with identifying items in some documents but with none in others. In such cases, prosopographical tracking was necessary: for example, Rainier Brus⁴, who appears in 1125 as *Rainerius de Bruso* (Burgo), is probably the same person as *Rainerius, Brusco*, of 1136, appearing again in 1138 as *Reinerius Brusch*, and *Rainerus Bruns* in the same year. The fact that Rainier Brus was lord of Banyas is not mentioned in the acts, and though an eminent figure, his name is spelled differently in every mention. His mention as two people⁵ in 1136 is probably a mistake, as two people with just a first name are not likely to appear high on the witness list, nor among well-known barons of the kingdom.

In addition, the scribes may not have recognized precisely a person's name, and in a few cases the same person is identified by two completely different names, such as Hubert and Herbert⁶.

Persons positively identified as non-Catholic, Muslim and Jewish subjects of Frankish rule, as well as pilgrims, visitors, papal or imperial legates, and crusaders who did not settle permanently in the Levant were excluded from the dataset. It is not possible to distinguish without fail all those who came into the Holy Land and left within a few years. The visits of certain famed crusaders like Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony; Thierry of Alsace, Count of Flanders and his son Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders; Count Henry 'the Liberal' of Champagne and others, are recorded in narrative sources and the details of their visits are known. People who appear as witnesses for a few years and then disappear may well be either indigenous or non-permanent settlers. Yet the choice of witnesses was not random: it relied on the premise that the witnesses would be around in the future to re-validate the attestation if necessary, hence youth and permanent residence can generally be inferred⁷. It is assumed, then, that most of the people on record, from the second generation onwards, were native residents or, as they were later called, *poulains*⁸.

Entries consisting of identical first name and by-name, recorded within a generation (approximately 25 years) were assumed to be the same individual; for verification,

⁴ RRH 105, 164, 174, 181. See also A.V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Dynastic History* (Oxford, 2000) pp.221-222.

⁵ *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100-1310*, ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx (Paris 1894-1906), vol. 1, no. 116 (cf. RRH 164).

⁶ Hubert or Herbert de Pazi, RRH 134 and RRH 240. Another example is Rainier or Reynald de Brusco, see: C.K. Slack, "Royal *familiares* in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100-1187", *Viator* 22 (1991) p. 24. More on auditory and orthographic distortions below.

⁷ See D. Postles, "Choosing Witnesses in 12th Century England", *The Irish Jurist* 23 (1988), pp. 330-346.

⁸ On the sources and meanings of the term *poulains* see; M.R. Morgan, "The Meanings of the Old French *Polain*, Latin *Pullanus*", *Medium Aevum* 48 (1979), pp. 40-54.

sources have been double-checked. Identical first names with no identifying items were as a rule considered different persons, even if recorded within a generation. In some of these cases, however, it was possible to identify a person by link to a consistent cluster of witnesses, and thus eliminate duplicates.

In most instances of multiple identical first names, it was possible to discern individuals apart by by-names and other identifying items, though it is not improbable for an individual to appear on record once with, and once without an identifying item, and therefore to consist of more than one entry.

The principal fields containing personal identifying data are: (a) by-name (e.g. Aimar, Dux, Fortis, Anglicus, Wascus), (b) occupation or title (e.g. *piscator*, *miles*, *baron*), (c) familial relationship (e.g. Joscelinus, pater Maccildis), and (d) toponymic by-name (e.g. Guillelmus de Marreclea). About 0.06% (364) persons remain with no identifying data at all⁹.

2c. Allocation of Data Fields

Each entry consists of a personal name and additional information that assists in identifying and classifying each individual. Thus, the database contains 35 information fields for each entry, with information on date and place of record, and personal information that variably includes a by-name, title (e.g. *baro regis*), profession or position as indicated in the acts (e.g. *advocatus*, *butticularius*, *vicecomes*). A toponymic by-name often indicates a European area of origin, e.g. Petrus Alvernensis (Auvergne), Sanctius Gasco, Stephanus Lombardus, Johannes de Corseniana (Corsignano, present-day Pienza¹⁰), Lambertus Pictavis (Poitiers), Petrus Cathalanus, Brun Burgundiae, Gerardus Flamingus and Gilabertus de Carcasona, all of them Frankish settlers mentioned in 1168 in the confirmation of the 'charter of settlement' of Bethgibelin, showing the diverse European areas of origin of rural settlers in the Latin Kingdom¹¹. The toponymic by-name may also indicate the original (or previous) area of settlement in the Levant, e.g. Adalardus de Ramis (Ramla) and Richardus de S. Abraham (Hebron). Additional data fields contain family relations and other affiliations, and social status. More often than not, individuals whose social status can be affirmed, do not carry a social label such as *nobilis* and *burgensis*. Based on the additional information provided in the records, on association of the person with a particular party of witnesses, and on corroborating information from contemporary sources and modern

⁹ 3309 people have a by-name; 3418 have an occupational descriptor; 610 have a kin indicator, and 1553 have a locative descriptor (the groups overlap). 5820 people have one or more descriptors (94%).

¹⁰ The original Castello di Corsignano was named Pienza in 1405 by Enea Silvio, later Pope Pius II. See G. Garollo, *Dizionario Geografico Universale* (Milan, 1932), p.1173; cf. *Enciclopedia Italiana* vol. 27 (Rome, 1935) p.199.

¹¹ *RRH* 457 (confirming *RRH* 164), see Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c.1050-1310* (London, 1967) p.436; Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980) pp. 124-125. Cf. Delaville Le Roulx, vol. 1, no.399.

research, it was possible to specify adherence to a social class, i.e. ecclesiastics, nobles, burgesses¹² – or religious or military order – for about half of the population on record¹³.

The identified individuals total 3285 (53% of the population), and are distributed as follows: ecclesiastics: 1081, nobles: 1060, burgesses: 434, and members of the military orders: 710 persons.

These information fields allow for greater accuracy in identifying people, for searching the database by text-strings, dates or document number, as well as for sorting the database by multiple sorting keys.

2d. Coding of Names: Orthographic Issues

The personal names of the people recorded in the documents often appear in a few orthographic variations. For example, Humphrey II of Toron, one of the Kingdom's great fief-holders and royal constable, is mentioned between 1150 and 1179 as *Anfridus*, *Anfredus*, *Ainfridus*, *Enfredus*, *Hanfredus*, *Hemfredus*, *Humfredus*, *Humfredinus*, *Henfredus*, *Henfridus*, *Umfredus* and *Unfredus*; his fief appears as *Toro*, *Torreum*, *Toron*, *Torum* and *Corone*; such a fate is shared by the names of many lesser people. These name variants, though kept in the file for reference, were all consolidated under one name-code¹⁴. Thus, all personal names were manually assigned a serial digital code for each (929 codes in all), a method that seemed the most clear and convenient for the database operations.

Spelling of names in the charters is problematic in several ways. First, the onomasticon itself is large and naturally varied, as crusaders arrived from different European

¹² This category includes individuals identified in the documents as '*de burgensibus*' and people identified as burgess by modern research. A burgess in the Latin Kingdom was a Latin Christian of European or native origin, subject to the laws and jurisdiction of a *Cour de Bourgeois* (or in certain cases to other courts with legal authority over him), and a tenant of a *borgesie*. A burgess was neither nobleman nor serf, and very often dwelled in the countryside rather than in a town. See Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, and R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, who provides lists of Frankish settlers from various *casalia*, who supposedly moved from the towns to rural settlements. I thank Marwan Nader of Cambridge University for discussion of the topic.

¹³ *Lignages d'Outremer* (an index of *Lignages d'Outremer* was kindly provided to me by M-A. Nielen-Vandevoorde of the Archives Nationales de France, Paris); *Familles d'Outremer de Du Cange*, ed. E.G. Rey (Paris 1869); W.H. Rudt de Collenberg, *Familles de l'Orient Latin*; J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*; Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, and A. Murray in several studies, especially "The Origins of the Frankish Nobility of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100-1118", *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 4 (1989), 281-301, and "Ethnic Identity in the Crusader States: The Frankish Race and the Settlement of Outremer" in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, eds. S. Forde, L. Johnson and A.V. Murray (Leeds, 1995), 59-73.

¹⁴ Several methods of first-name coding were reviewed, e.g. coding by first letter and next two consonants. On name coding methods see: Y. Blayo, "Name variations in a village of Brie, 1750-1860", in: *Identifying People in the Past*, ed. E.A. Wrigley (London, 1973), pp. 57-63; C. Clark, *WNH* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1995), and K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999).

localities. The spelling of names may vary considerably in different places, and the scribes themselves originated from various parts of Catholic Europe¹⁵. They therefore may not have recognized foreign names or name variants, and as a general rule spelled names phonetically, according to their own phonetic conventions. So, in the absence of fixed spelling conventions, and with names pronounced differently in different regions, regular spelling of names is rare.

However, almost all name forms were latinized, and here again, with no general convention. Thus, the "W" of Germanic names (*Waldhar*-*Walter*) was inconsistently transcribed into the Latin letter "G" (*Galterus*/*Gualterius*), but we also find the hybrid forms of *Walterus*, *Valterius*, and *Galter*, and on top of these, forms based on gallicized pronunciation: *Gauterius*, *Gaultier*, *Gautier*, and other variants. Similar phonetic transformations occur with the Germanic *adal-* turned into *al-* and *au-* (*Adalbert*-*Albert*-*Aubert*), *ald-* to *aud-* (*Arnald*-*Arnaud*) etc.. To most of these forms, as well as to the vernacular variants, scribes added the Latin suffix *-us*, creating e.g. *Aubertus*, *Arnaudus* – French in a Latin guise¹⁶.

The fact that many of the Kingdom's original acts have disappeared increases the probability of name-distortions and misidentifications by the hands of medieval copyists.

2e. Coding of Names: Linguistic and Typological Categories

Each personal name in the database is linked with 10 typological fields. The first field is the name's language of origin. The categories are mainly Germanic or Latin origin. In the Latin category I included names of Hebrew and Greco-Roman origin, which at this period form a consolidated stock. The names of Germanic origin, being often compound dithematic names, are those of the Germanic-speaking peoples, i.e. of Old German, Old English, Old Scandinavian and Gothic origin¹⁷. These etymological decisions are generally straightforward, though in few instances (e.g. *Bruno*/*Brunus*;

¹⁵ See Mayer, *Die Kanzlei*, for the ethnic origins of the scribes in the Latin Kingdom, among them English, Italian, Spanish and French-speaking of various regions such as Anjou, Flanders, Normandy, Champagne and Lorraine. Probably a few scribes were non-Latin, see *RRH* 1435 of 1280: "Georgius, scriba in arabico in dicta domo Theutonicorum", see B.Z. Kedar, "The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant" in *Muslims under Latin Rule 1100-1300*, ed. J.M. Powell (Princeton, 1990), p. 157.

¹⁶ The sorting of the first name variants in the database was accomplished with the kind assistance of Dr. Cyril Aslanov of the Department of French Language and Romance Studies in the Hebrew University. For reference see: E. Schwan and D. Behrens, *Grammaire de l'ancien français* (V. 1-2: Phonétique et morphologie) (Leipzig, 1932).

¹⁷ The linguistic sorting of names is based mainly on the following dictionaries: A. Longnon, ed., *Polyptyque de l'Abbaye de Saint-Germain des Prés* (Paris, 1895), vol. 1, "Les noms propres de personne au temps de Charlemagne", pp. 254-382; E. Vroonen, *Encyclopédie des noms des personnes* (Paris, 1973); A. Dauzat and M.-T. Morlet, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms et prénoms* (Paris, 1980); H. Reichter, *Lexikon der altgermanischen Namen* (Vienna, 1987); E. de Felice, *Dizionario dei nomi italiani* (Milan, 1992); P. Hanks and F. Hodges, *A Dictionary of Surnames* (Oxford, 1996).

Jordanes/ Jordanus) a convergence of Latin and Germanic influences may have occurred. A few names, e.g. Theodore, were classified as Byzantine/Latin. A small proportion of names were identified as Arabic (Muisse) and Byzantine (Constantine), and a category of 'others' includes names of Celtic origin, (Herveus, Arthur), and some names of unclassifiable origin (e.g. Relis).

Saints' names were qualified as such whereas the saints' veneration was international or strong national¹⁸, namely the names of the apostles, evangelists, martyrs, the Holy Family, Church Fathers, Doctors of the Church, founders of religious orders, and great missionaries. In addition, the list of saints in the *Legenda Aurea* was scanned and all saints appearing in it were marked as saints' names in the file.

Saints appearing in the Calendars of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre¹⁹ were also marked as saints' names, as well as those appearing in the litanies of saints in the Psalter of Queen Melisende, the Angelica Sacramentary, and the Riccardiana and Barberini Psalters. Though the names of some locally-venerated saints of Jerusalem were considered as saints' names (e.g., Urban, Vital) their representation in the Frankish name stock is insignificant. Some decisions concerning saints' names are not straightforward. Of the several saints named William known in the 12th-13th centuries, none can be classified as a central or an internationally venerated saint. It can be argued reasonably that naming a child William was a decision born of meaningful dynastic, political or feudal allegiance motivations, rather than expressing pious sentiments. Indeed, classifying William, one of the most dominant names in the Kingdom's name-stock, as a saint's name, would alter dramatically the onomasticon's devotional character. There are also saints who were canonized during the 12th-13th centuries, mainly Bernard of Clairvaux (1174), Francis of Assisi (1228) and Dominic (1234); I decided to classify the individuals carrying these names as bearing saints' names if their date on record is at least 25 years after that saint's canonization. In each period the name may appear under only one category (saint or not). The case of Bernard is however, different from the other two: the name was very frequent before the canonization of Bernard of Clairvaux, and it is therefore difficult to weigh the impact of the canonization; this was not the case, however, with Francis and Dominic, which were comparatively rare names, whose frequency rose considerably at the end on the 13th century. Yet the numbers in the Latin Kingdom are small: the name

¹⁸ D. Weinstein and R. M. Bell, *Saints and Society* (Chicago UP, 1982), in the appendix on method, p. 279ff, suggest four ordinal categories to determine the centrality of saints: 1. The cult is international or strong national; 2. Patron and intercessor saints (of cities, professions, human conditions); 3. Saints venerated primarily in religious orders; 4. Local saints. They indicate, though, that medieval hagiographic collections do not present clear criteria for sainthood and that the formal procedure for canonization by the Pope, which emerged in the end of the 12th century, was standardized only in the 17th century. Hence, no medieval 'official' list of saints exists, while popular veneration was always a powerful factor in the spreading of saints' cult - a process reflected in name-giving as well.

¹⁹ F. Wormald, "The Calendars of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem" and "The Litanies of Saints", in H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), App. I.

Bernard occurs 129 times over the whole period (103 occurrences in the 12th century, suggesting that the frequency of the name decreased in the Frankish Kingdom after the canonization); Francis occurs five times over the whole period (four in the late 13th century); and Dominic occurs 14 times (seven in each century).

The typological categories also include information on the scriptural source of the name – Old Testament and/or New Testament, names indicating Christian sentiments such as Deustisalve, Christianus, Deusdedit and Salvus; augural names²⁰, such as Amatus, Amicus, Bonaccursus and Bonnanus; names recalling epic heroes like Roland and Olivier, and indicative of personal characteristics as Bastardus, Brusco, Guericus, and Sanguineus. Also indicated are names that seem to derive from toponyms, such as Dalmatius²¹, Pisanus, and Torcellanus, although it is possible that these are not personal names proper but an indirect method of identification. Jordan (Jordanus) is a toponym that seems of special interest: the name was already known in the early middle ages, perhaps also through the Old Norse root *jordh*²², and it probably owes its continuous use in France and England to the converging influence of the name of the Jordan river, brought to Europe at the end of 12th century with returning crusaders.

The combination of multiple identifying descriptors that are linked with each individual, and typological categories linked with each name, allow for numerous cross-references and analyses of the distribution of names and name-categories within groups of the population and selected periods that will be reported below.

²⁰ See M. Mitterauer, *Ahnen und Heilige* (Munich, 1993), p. 287

²¹ The Latin form Dalmatius is based on the toponym (or ethnonym). It was the name of two saints (bishop of Pavia, d. 304, and bishop of Rodez, d. 580) and of a widely revered Byzantine presbyter of the 5th century. In its Provençal form, Dalmace or Dalmas, the name was frequent in noble families in Languedoc around the year 1000. It was suggested by Provençal philologist Paul Roux that the name may also have been derived from *d(a)el mas* – an inhabitant of an isolated dwelling in: “Quelques notes sur les noms de famille provençaux”, *La Revista de l'Assouciacièn vareso pèr l'ensignamen dòu prouvençau de La Farlède* (AVEP), 58/2 (1991), internet edition at www.prouvençodamour.com. On the usage of the name Dalmace in southern France see Ch. Lauranson-Rosaz, *L'Auvergne et ses marges (Velay, Gévaudan) du 8^e au 11^e siècle. La fin du monde antique?*, Thèse d'État, Le Puy-en-Velay, 1987, Chapter 2, “Identification culturelle”.

²² *Jordh* means ‘earth’ (see *OED* under ‘earth’), and the root is connected with *Jord*, the Old Scandinavian earth goddess, mother of Thor and wife of Odin. See E.G. Whitecombe, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names* (Oxford, 1971), explaining also that crusaders returning home had a “habit of bringing back Jordan water to be used in the baptism of their children”.

CHAPTER 3

Data Analysis

1. Description and analysis of the name distribution

1.a. The most popular names

This section examines the major trends in the popularity of the names that comprise the “top five” list of personal names in the Latin Kingdom. The composition of this list varies between the six sub-periods and between social groups: some names decline and eventually disappear from it, others break into and eventually dominate it, and one name – William – is ever present, both in the chronological sub-sections and social breakdowns – something of a brand name of the time.

The discussion of these dominant names will chart the evolution in their popularity, their symbolic references, and provide, where available, some comparative information from other parts of the Catholic world. The examination is based on the frequency distribution of each name by period, by decade, and with reference to the arrival of crusades to the Holy Land. Laying out this group of dominant names, carried by 24%-30% of the population in each generational period, and discerning the features it shared with various regions in Catholic Europe and those it did not, offer a glimpse of the general makeup of the community that lived in the Latin Kingdom.

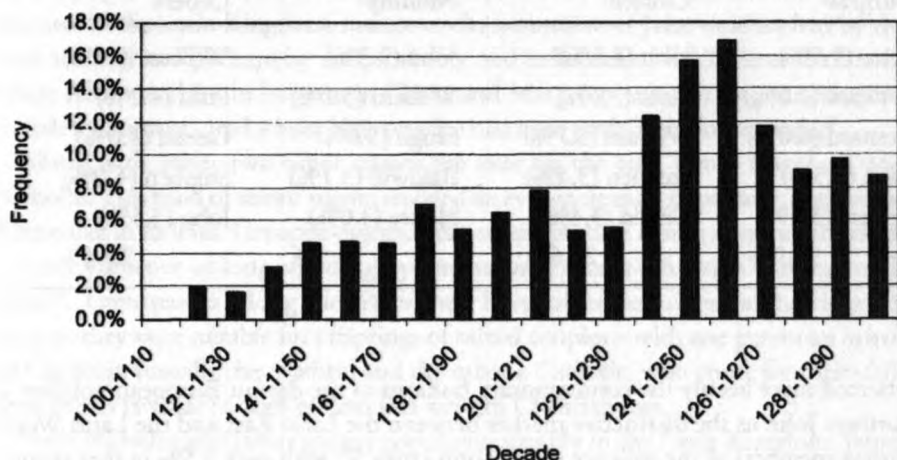
Figure 1 shows the five most popular names in the Frankish Levant in the period of the Kingdom's existence, broken down into six chronological sections. Over the whole period, the five most dominant names are: John, William, Peter, Hugh and Gerard. From 1130 on, the names John, William and Peter remain invariably the three most dominant names, with John leaping from the 19th place (with 1%) in the earliest period to the 3rd place in the second and third periods (4% and 6%), then ousting William from the top, and remaining the most popular name thereafter.

John was the most popular name in the Frankish Levant from the 1190s to 1291, and it was also the most dominant name among churchmen and members of the Frankish aristocracy over the whole study period. Despite its installation at the top already in 1190, the major leap in the name's popularity occurred around 1235 (Fig. 2), when its frequency doubled. What was the motor of this evolution? A likely explanation seems to be that this doubling of John was an indigenous effect. The increase in frequency does not seem to be related to a massive entry of a group that could account

Figure 1 Top Five Names (in percentage)

1100–1129	1130–1159	1160–1189	1190–1219	1220–1259	1260–1291	1100–1291
William (6.4)	Peter (7.0)	Peter (7.0)	John (6.3)	John (12.9)	John (10.9)	John (7.2)
Peter (5.3)	William (7.0)	William (6.0)	Peter (6.1)	William (6.4)	William (6.2)	William (6.2)
Hugh (4.8)	John (4.4)	John (5.8)	William (5.9)	Peter (4.5)	Peter (5.1)	Peter (6.0)
Gerard (3.7)	Gerard (4.0)	Hugh (3.8)	Rudolph (3.0)	Hugh (3.4)	James (4.6)	Hugh (3.3)
Robert (3.7)	Robert (3.4)	Bernard (3.6)	Raymond (2.2)	Henry (3.2)	Nicholas (2.9)	Gerard (2.5)
23.9%	25.8%	26.1%	23.5%	30.3%	29.7%	25.2%

Figure 2 Frequency of John in the Latin Kingdom – by decades



for such a high occurrence of the name. The leap was an evolution particular to the name itself. It was not related to a general increase in concentration, since the rise in the concentration of the top five names that occurred exactly at the same time, reflected almost exclusively the increase in the popularity of John; and, the name was indeed gaining popularity steadily during the First Kingdom. Thus, it may well be seen as an expression of a local preference. It should also be noted that in this period the frequency of last names in the Latin Kingdom increased, a phenomenon that on the whole seems to be linked with greater homonymity (in the Latin Kingdom)¹.

At the turn of the 12th century, John's predominance in the Frankish Kingdom seems to slightly predate its prevalence in most regions of Catholic Europe². Indeed, if the crusades are recognized as an expression of the growing influence of the church in Western European society, it is not unexpected that more intense devotional naming patterns will be revealed first in the society created by this movement. Strikingly, the main vehicle of John's prevalence was the nobility of the Frankish Kingdom, among whom John was decidedly more popular than in the other groups (see Fig. 3). John's lead within the nobility is noteworthy³, with a 9.3% rate of occurrence, with William following second with 5.1%. Furthermore, a comparison between the Frankish Kingdom nobility and the military orders – the knightly group that may have

¹ See below, section 1.c.

² For a more detailed comparison see ch.4 below, where exceptions are noted.

³ A comparable sample solely of persons identified as nobles is not available. John was very popular, with rates comparable with those of the Latin Kingdom in the 13th century, but only in studies which are biased toward non-noble population. Given that, and the fact that Christian names (measured as a group) were in general less frequent among Western European nobility, it seems safe to consider John's popularity among the Frankish nobility as significant.

Figure 3 Most frequent names by social class, 1100–1291

Burgess	Church	Nobility	Orders
Peter (9.9%)	John (8.5%)	John (9.3%)	William (8.7%)
William (6.0%)	Peter (7.6%)	William (5.1%)	Peter (7.1%)
Bernard (6.0%)	William (6.7%)	Hugh (5.0%)	Gerald (4.0%)
John (5.5%)	Stephen (3.4%)	Baldwin (3.1%)	Stephen (4.0%)
Robert (3.5%)	Gerald (3.4%)	Henry (3.0%)	John (3.5%)
30.9%	29.6%	25.5%	27.4%

reflected more keenly the contemporary fashions of the devout European nobility – portrays John as the distinctive marker between the Latin East and the Latin West: among members of the military orders John ranks 5th with only 3.5% in that group. The minor role of John in the military orders is unique: among church members John was once more the most popular (8.5%) and among the burgesses it held 5.5%.

In the different regions of contemporary Catholic Europe the advance of John was not uniform. The name was dominant in some regions of northern France and Italy in the 13th century, but in southern France John ascended to primacy much later⁴. In England at the beginning of the 14th century, William was still the most frequent name, and was replaced by John only around the middle that century. A particular pattern with regard to the prevalence of John is demonstrated in Rome, where, from the end of the 10th century, it was the most popular name⁵. In Franconia, on the other hand, it reached the top not before the first decades of the 15th century⁶.

Yet, the process of its rise was universal and unequivocal, and resulted from several factors. It should first be seen within the context of the general increase in the use of saints' names (yet the increase in John's own popularity often seems to be the main instrument of this evolution). The more popular of John the Evangelist and John the Baptist was probably the latter, but together they account for four feast days in the liturgical calendar. John the Baptist's prominent position in popular veneration, next to the holy family and the apostles followed from the words of Christ⁷. Both the Baptist and the Evangelist were beloved figures, bearers of a good message, and the onomastic distinction between them (the appearance of the name Jean-Baptiste) occurred only in

⁴ For detailed comparison see chapter 4 below.

⁵ É. Hubert, "Évolution générale de l'anthroponymie masculine à Rome", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 106 (1994), p. 580. See also chapter 4 below.

⁶ M. Mitterauer, *Ahnen und Heilige* (Munich, 1993), p. 250; J. Morsel, "Changements anthroponymiques et sociogenèse de la noblesse en Franconie à la fin du moyen âge", *GMAM III*, pp.98-99

⁷ Mat. 11:11: "Amen, I say to you, among those born of women there has been none greater than John the Baptist; yet the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he."

the early modern period⁸. The increasing popularity of John the Baptist may have also been a popular response to the rejection of his cult by the Cathar and Albigensian heretics. In the Latin Kingdom, moreover, the veneration of John was inspired by the local scenery, and perhaps by the proximity and influence of the Byzantine church, where John was third in holiness to Christ and Mary, (appearing alongside Mary on church iconostases), and whose high prestige had been established for centuries⁹.

Along with John, two other names are ever on the rise: James (Jacobus) and Nicholas. This triad of saints' names enjoyed an ever-increasing popularity, despite the differences in its level. Grouped together, the course of these names may indeed reflect a direct influence of long-standing Byzantine and Eastern-Christian naming traditions¹⁰. These names (along with Peter) may have gained popularity in the kingdom because they were suitable for offsprings of mixed couples – with one parent an oriental Christian (usually the mother) and the other a Catholic, who chose for their children names familiar to both eastern and western Christian ears.

Both Nicholas and James gained popularity steadily in the Latin Kingdom. James was the more popular of the two, reaching approximately 4.5% in the end of the 13th century, after a steady increase ever since the early 12th century. A name of the Jewish patriarch and two apostles, it was a common name in Oriental Christendom and in the Byzantine Empire, and one of the most popular names in the Nestorian church. In Western Europe the name was becoming increasingly frequent in the end of the 13th century, e.g. in Paris in 1292 it held 1.4% (ranking 14th) and in 1313 it held 1.7% (ranking 11th). During the 14th century the name became so common as a sobriquet for French peasants (also common as a last name), that the 1358 peasant revolt was pejoratively called *Jacquerie*. But the name's highest popularity in Western Europe was in Italy (Florence, Milan, Siena, and Genoa, where it held around 8.0% in the second half of the 13th century)¹¹.

⁸ See "Le problème johannique" in J.-L. Biget, "L'évolution des noms de baptême en Languedoc au moyen âge", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 17 (1982), pp. 318-319.

⁹ Mitterauer, *Ahnen und Heilige*, pp. 145. In England, by the 14th century, the name was so common that its nickname, Jack, dated to the 13th century, was established as a synonym for any man; see *OED*, under "Jack" as proper noun: "A familiar by-form of the name *John*; hence a generic proper name for any representative of the common people", citing examples from the 13th and 14th centuries.

¹⁰ Mitterauer, *Ahnen und Heilige*, pp. 91, 280-281. There is no statistical survey of Byzantine naming-patterns. Some sources on names are the chapter on names in A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire* (Princeton, 1977). E. Patlagean suggests, based on epigraphic evidence, that John was more popular, at least until the 7th century, among peasants than among the higher classes in Byzantium: "Les débuts d'une aristocratie byzantine et le témoignage de l'historiographie: système des noms et liens de parenté aux IX^e et X^e siècles", in M. Angold, ed., *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XII Centuries* (Oxford, 1984), p. 26. See also chapter 4 below.

¹¹ See Mitterauer, *Ahnen und Heilige*, pp. 91, 161, 205, 280; Michaëlsson, *Etudes sur les noms de personne français* (Uppsala, 1927), p. 52 (for Paris); O. Brattö, *Studi di antroponomia fiorentina. Il Libro di Montaperti (1260)*, (Göteborg, 1953) (for Florence, Siena, Milan); Kedar, "Noms de saints et mentalité populaire à Gênes au XIV^e siècle", *Le Moyen Age* 73 (1967), p. 440 (for Genoa). In 11th century England James, together with Nicholas, is considered to possibly reflect a Low Countries origin of their bearers. See C. Clark, "Early Personal Names of King's Lynn", in *WNL*, p. 254.

Nicholas shared an identical course in the Frankish Kingdom, though was generally less popular. The name appeared in the decade of 1141-1150, and displayed a consistent increase toward the end of the 13th century. Like James, it was a popular name in the Byzantine Empire as well as in Italy, especially in 13th century Genoa (6.4% and 5.9% in 1251 and 1261, perhaps on account of Nicholas being the sailors' patron), in Rome and Bari, but not in the Tuscan towns surveyed in the *Libro di Montaperti* of 1260. In Paris the name was relatively popular, ranking 5th in 1292 and 1313 (2.8% and 3.5% accordingly)¹².

Three names enjoyed a relatively consistent popularity in the Latin Kingdom, showing no bold up- or downward drifts: William, Peter and Henry.

William and Peter kept a fixed position, with high occurrences, in the Frankish Kingdom, ranking second and third throughout the 13th century.

The frequency of William fluctuated only slightly between 5.9% and 7.0% of the whole population over the 200 years of the Latin Kingdom, and overall seems quite steady. As indicated in Chapter I above, its popularity was the result of the name's multiple symbolic connotations – royal, aristocratic, and, to some extent, saintly; the distinction between these various connotations in the mind of the name givers may not have been sharp¹³. Yet, pertaining to the group of names of Germanic origin, whose general course was a descending one, the popularity of William does stand out. As will be noted later, in the Frankish Kingdom William was the most popular among members of the military orders, where it doubled in frequency during 200 years, reaching a high of 8.7% at the end of the 13th century. This development will be examined later, as the orders may be the group that represents more vitally than others the current trends in Western Europe.

In Catholic Europe, William's currency was high in both (mainly southern) France in the 11th-13th centuries, and post-Conquest England, where it ranked among the top three names from the 12th to the 20th century (but only in the 12th century it ranked first)¹⁴.

¹² According to Mitterauer, the elevation of Saint Nicholas' status in formal Western worship predated the increase in his popular veneration; i.e., the saint's prestige did not spring upward from the lower social strata. However, his status as an intervening saint, originally a Byzantine concept, was already acknowledged in Western Europe by the end of the 11th century, and his veneration as a guide for the soul after death was becoming popular in the 13th century. See Mitterauer, *Ahnen und Heilige*, pp. 280-281, 346; Michaëlsson, p. 52; Kedar, "Noms de saints", p. 440; E. Hubert, "Évolution générale de l'anthroponymie masculine à Rome du Xe au XIIIe siècle", *MEFRM* 106 (1994), pp. 573-594; J.-M. Martin, "Anthroponymie et onomastique à Bari (950-1250)", *ibid.*, pp. 683-701.

¹³ The name William was frequent in the Angevine, Aquitanian, Norman and English dynasties; several celebrated Williams who were popular heroes whose deeds were commemorated in folklore. See Mitterauer, *Ahnen und Heilige*, pp. 245-247.

¹⁴ The name was very common among Norman and Breton nobles in the second half of the 12th century, but after 1100 there was no English king or Norman duke by this name. Robert de Monte (Robert de Torigni) relates an incidence that betrays the social and bonding significance of the name: in a feast hosted by Henry II Plantagenet in 1172 near Bayeux, all the guests not named William are asked to

Peter's popularity in the Latin Kingdom was high throughout the 12th century and declined moderately from the 2nd quarter of the 13th century, ranking third in popularity (its lowest) from the 1220s. The name reached its highest prevalence in 1150-1180, and its lowest point in 1220-1250, following the crusade of Frederick II. In European samples, the name Peter is often characteristic of urban and semi-urban populations, and was especially current in contemporary Mediterranean France and Italy¹⁵. Linking these two facts together, it may be suggested that Peter's position was related to the exceptional representation, in the Kingdom's charters of the middle of the 12th century, of a greater proportion of people clearly identified as burgesses¹⁶, while in the 13th century the number of such people is too small to analyze (381 burgesses in the 12th century compared with 53 in the 13th). This linkage seems to support Ellenblum's thesis on the European areas of origin of the Latin Kingdom's burgess-settler class, which maintains a difference in origin between the first crusaders, who were mostly of northern European origin, and settlers of the countryside, who originated from southern Europe, and not necessarily from urban areas¹⁷. In the total burgess population Peter indeed ranked first, second among the members of the church and the military orders, but only sixth among the Frankish aristocracy.

Most of the once popular names whose frequency sank in the 13th century are predictably Germanic: Hugh, Gerard, Robert and Bernard – all had their highest

leave the hall: "*ne quis miles comederet in eadem camera, qui non vocaretur Willermus; et eiectis aliis de camera, remanserunt centum et decem milites qui omnes vocabantur Willermi*". Chronicle of Robert of Torigni, in *The Chronicles of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, vol. 4, ed. R. Howlett (*Rolls Series*, London, 1889), s.a. 1172, p. 253.

Another Germanic name that rose in the 13th century is Henry. However, it was much less popular than William. Henry's popularity in the Latin Kingdom was higher in the 13th century than in the 12th. In the 12th century its frequency was low: 0.8% of the population, while in the 13th century it rose to 2.7% on average, with a peak close to 4% in the decade 1231-1240, immediately following the arrival of the crusade of Frederick II. The name's popularity in 13th century Europe seems to be more elevated in Italy and especially in the Empire. In the Paris Rolls of 1292 it ranked 10th (with 1.7%), and in England, despite having been borne by eight kings between the 11th and the 16th century, its popularity remained moderate throughout the middle ages. In the Empire (data are available for Cologne, Regensburg, Breslau and Zurich) Heinrich retained its old Ottonian prestige which was both aristocratic and partly saintly, ranking among the most popular names and on the rise in the 13th century, while in Genoa Enrico ranked 3rd (with 7.0%) in 1251 and 7th (with 4.2%) in 1261. See: K. Michaëllsson, p. 52; C. Clark, "Willelmus rex? vel alius Willelmus?", in *WNH*, p.282 and n.16; M. Mitterauer, *Ahnen und Heilige*, p. 275; Kedar, "Noms de saints", p.440.

¹⁵ The name was progressing from the Midi northward throughout the 12th-13th centuries: Bourin, "France du Midi et France du nord", pp. 187-189. For Italy see e.g. Bertolami (Monselice, Padua) *MEFRM* 106, appendix 1; Guyotjeanin (Emilia) *MEFRM* 106, p. 402; Kedar (Genoa), *Merchants in Crisis*, pp. 98-99.

¹⁶ Mainly from the 'Mahomeria list' in *RRH* 302, which contains about 130 *burgenses*.

¹⁷ Ellenblum, pp.76-78, also refers to the common heterogeneous consistency of European *castra* and the Levantine rural settlement, heterogeneity that emanates also from the anthroponymic findings of M. Bourin-Derruau, *Villages médiévaux en Bas Languedoc. Genèse d'une sociabilité: 10e-14e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1987).

frequency levels in the First Kingdom, and declined in the Second. To these may be added the less popular ones – but still declining – Baldwin, Ralph and Raymond. One name – Stephen – stands out in this group: it shares the trend, but is the only Latin and 'Christian' name in the list¹⁸.

Hugh is a name with a distinct aristocratic flavour that was more common in northern France, and like Bernard it is an old name of the Carolingian family, and a royal name of the Capetian dynasty. The name was introduced into England by the Normans, and although it was not among the five most popular names in Normandy, it ranked third among William the Conqueror's companions (after William and Robert)¹⁹. Its frequency increased in 12th century England, and more so in the 13th century mainly because of St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln (1135-1200), who was venerated mostly in the northern parts of England (Thomas was the most venerated in the south). Later, little Hugh of Lincoln (c.1246-1255), allegedly martyred by Jews, probably contributed to its popularity. In the Frankish Kingdom the name was most popular in the first half and the middle of the 12th century, following the initial settlement and the second crusade, and then underwent a moderate decrease in the 13th century; when comparing between social groups in the Frankish Kingdom, Hugh ranked among the top five names in the nobility only.

Gerard is the name with the fifth highest frequency in the Frankish Kingdom in 1100-1291²⁰. In the 10th-12th centuries Gerard was among the dominant names in central and southern France (Aquitaine, Poitou, Toulouse, and Agde). In the Frankish Kingdom the name appeared within the top five between 1100-1159 (Fig. 1) and it reached its highest popularity in the decade 1131-1140, when its frequency was 7%. Henceforth its frequency declined, as it did in Catholic Europe, with frequencies ranging between 0%-3% throughout the 12th and 13th centuries²¹.

¹⁸ Stephen was relatively common among members of the Latin Church and the military orders, ranking 3rd in both groups (3.4% and 4.0% correspondingly); it is noteworthy that among the military orders it surpassed John. It ranked 6th (3.2%) among the burgesses, and 22nd in the nobility. Glancing at European samples, Stephen seems to have been a more favoured name in southern France (Agde, Languedoc) and in Aquitaine, where up to the 13th century it was one of the three most popular saints (between Peter and John), and was less favoured in the north of France. In Anglo-Saxon England it was a typically monastic name, and moderately common in Post-Conquest England. Both in the Latin Kingdom and in Europe, it seems, Stephen is a clerical name, of sorts, despite the protomartyr's reputation as a helper-saint. See also Mitterauer, *Ahnen und Heilige*, p. 346.

¹⁹ See Mitterauer, *Ahnen und Heilige*, p. 253.

²⁰ The acts of the Frankish Kingdom often confuse the names Gerald and Gerard, and they are therefore considered together. Moreover, in the *RRH* both names are indexed together, and in *Le Cartulaire du Chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem* the names are cross-referenced. A confusion is also apparent in the *Polyptyque de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain de Prés*, see vol. I, p. 311, n.2, and is registered as well in the British Isles, where the name Gerald seems to have perished by the end of the 13th century, see E.G. Whitecomb, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names* (Oxford, 1971), p. 124.

²¹ In Aquitaine Gerald of Aurillac was a saint regionally venerated from the 10th century. He belongs to the type which M. Mitterauer refers to as 'aristocratic saints', like William of Gellone. See Mitterauer, *Ahnen und Heilige*, p. 326.

Robert, though less popular, shows a similar pattern in the Frankish Kingdom. It figured among the five dominant names in 1100-1159 (Fig. 1), and reached its highest popularity (5.3%) within the decade 1131-1140. Its frequency was higher in the 12th century (with an average of 2.5% up to 1210) than in the 13th (average 1.3%). Robert is a typical Norman and northern-French name. It was the name of two Capetian kings in the 10th-11th centuries and was current in the Norman dynasty and high aristocracy (Rollo, the founder of the future duchy of Normandy, was baptized in 911 and renamed Robert). The name was not frequent in Aquitaine and southern France. It was a common name in Norman England, moderately current in Domesday Book and ever after. With William and Richard, Robert completes the so-called 'Norman triad' of popular names. Despite the fact that there was no saint by this name, it ranked among the five most popular names in England from the 12th to the 18th century²².

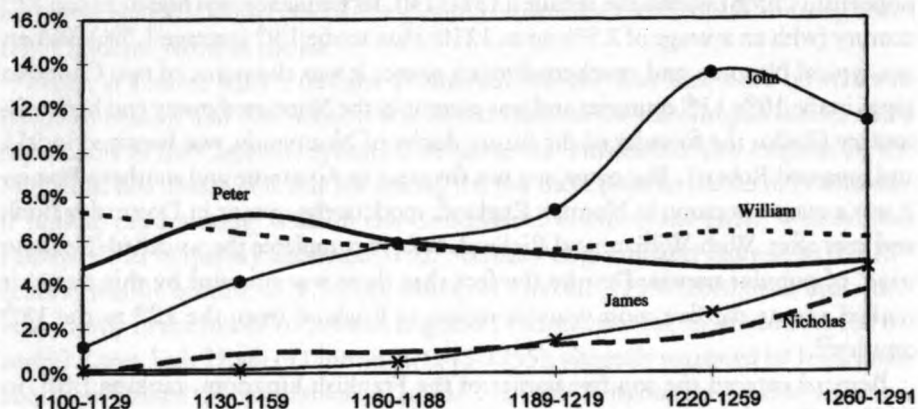
Bernard entered the top five names of the Frankish kingdom, ranking fifth, in 1160-1189, and at this period the name's popularity was at its highest, mostly because of its popularity among the burgher class, where it was the third most preferred name. Bernard was an old Carolingian name that used to be popular all over France, but lost its eminence in the northern regions in the 12th century, remaining dominant in the south. The Normans introduced it into England, where it was fairly common from the 12th century on. The name was already very current well before the canonization of Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153), and it is therefore difficult to assess the effect of sanctity on the name's popularity. In the Frankish Kingdom, the popularity of Bernard peaked in the middle of the 12th century (roughly between 1160-1187), when it held about 3.6% of the population. The surge in the name's frequency may be ascribed to the effect of the second crusade, and perhaps subsequent immigration, with the documents reflecting the establishment of newcomers a few years following their landing. With regard to the name's higher popularity in central and southern France, the composition of the immigration to the Frankish Kingdom in the middle of the 12th century may be conjectured. After 1190 the frequency of Bernard declined (it is noteworthy that sanctity did not cast increased popularity on the name), and in the 13th century it remained only slightly over 1% of the population²³.

To conclude this overview of the preferred names in the Latin Kingdom, the rise of Latin and decline of Germanic names are apparent. The three names that were constantly on the rise over most of the period – John, James and Nicholas – are Latin saints' names (Fig. 4), and moreover these are names that have been very common in Oriental Christendom for centuries. The vigorous and systematic rise of these names in the Frankish Kingdom emerges clearly from the data set. Two names, Peter and William, show essentially stable levels of frequency; while Peter is again a Latin and a

²² See Mitterauer, *Ahnennamen und Heilige*, pp. 248-251, and C. Clark, "Willelmus rex" in *WNH*, p. 289.

²³ See Mitterauer, *Ahnennamen und Heilige*, p. 308; Bourin, "France du Midi", pp. 188-189.

Figure 4 Trendlines of John, James, Nicholas, Peter and William in the Latin Kingdom



leading saint's name, William is in fact the only Germanic and non-(central)-saint's name at the top of the list, and appears to have been less affected by these major trends. The names that were declining were in general southern French, and northern-French and Norman aristocratic names.

1.b. Concentration

The process of increasing homonymity is revealed in two ways: a) by concentration on a few preferred names, whereby most of the population carries a small number of names, followed by a long tail-end of rare names; or: b) by condensation, where the stock of names per 100 individuals constantly decreases²⁴.

Statistically, the concentration is the accumulated frequency, represented in percentage, for x names from the top of the list; it is computed by adding up the frequencies of each name down to the x th name. This work refers usually to the accumulated frequency of the top five names, which in the Frankish Kingdom name repertory covers 24%-30% of the population.

²⁴ The distribution of personal names in the population does not resemble a normal (symmetrical) distribution, and therefore does not lend itself easily for standard (parametric) statistical analysis. In the Latin Kingdom as well as in Europe the distribution of *nomina propria* is uneven: most of the population clustered around a very limited number of personal names. On the other hand many names occur only a few times or even just once. This created a long 'tail', where a significant portion of people carried rare names. To study this type of distribution, which is common to most name distributions in the 11th-13th centuries (and even more so from 1300 onward), and to extract the most information from the database, specific indices were designed. See: P. Chareille, "Éléments pour un traitement statistique des données anthroponymiques", *GMAM*, II-2, 1992, pp. 245-297.

The concentration index therefore reveals the intensity of the shared element in naming preferences. A trend of increasing concentration over time reflects the clustering of commonly shared preferences. As a social phenomenon, greater homonymity may reflect greater socio-cultural cohesion, prevalent fashion and imitation.

The increase in concentration on a few preferred names was a global European phenomenon documented clearly from around 1000A.D.²⁵ The concentration levels of the Latin society in the East (Fig. 1) show slight fluctuations within a trend that in itself is only weakly significant²⁶. The low rate of the 4th period, indicating a greater dispersion of names, may reflect a possible rupture in the segment of the society that had been normally represented in attestation of acts, and a proliferation of new names following the political turning-point of the Battle of Hattin and the fall of the First Kingdom in 1187; it may reflect a social and demographic change, which could have resulted from the arrival of a large group of newcomers, or from the co-residence of new ethnic groups having variant naming patterns, who did not yet merge into one another. In the 5th period the stock became more concentrated, in accordance with the common trend in Catholic Europe.

Since both the fluctuations and the trend of the concentration rates are weakly significant at most, it is hard to contend that the concentration phenomenon in the Frankish East is analogous to the slow-but-steady evolution in Catholic Europe. This is also evident in Fig. 5, showing the number of names accounting for 50% of the population: while in the Latin East the numbers bounce upward and downward, studies of European name-stocks show constant and gradual decrease in the number of names used by half of the population²⁷.

Since, as noted above (section 1.a.), the increase in concentration rested largely on the increasing popularity of John, it may be instructive to exclude John from the index, and examine the evolution with the impact of John neutralized.

The levels of concentration excluding John seem more stable throughout. The rates show no definite trend, but the turnover which obviously occurred in the 4th period (1190-1219), with the tumble it effected on the concentration level, remains still very clear.

It is interesting to note that *without John*, the level at the end of the Second Kingdom is almost equal to that at the beginning of the First, thus giving a picture of

²⁵ Bourin, "France du Midi et France du nord", pp.184-185.

²⁶ A time-series regression and residuals analysis yield borderline significant results on the general trend of the concentration throughout the study period. The differences between the concentration levels by periods, tested by confidence intervals, are not significant, except for the difference between the 4th and the 5th periods, from 23.5% to 30.4%. Incidentally, European studies do not provide similar tests for significance.

²⁷ Sources for Fig. 5: Agde, Bourgogne, Dauphiné, Gascogne, Lezat, Limousin, Marseilles: *GMAM* II-2; Paris: Michaëlsson; Vendôme: Barthelemy, *GMAM* I; Emilia: Guyotjeanin, *MEFRM*, 106; Genoa: Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis*, pp.98-101; Parma: Guyotjeanin, *MEFRM*, 106; Veneto (Monselice) Bortolami, *MEFRM* 106; London: Ekwall, *Two Early London Subsidy Rolls* (Lund, 1951) p.35.

Figure 5

Number of names accounting for top 50% of the population (France)

<i>Period</i>	<i>Latin Kingdom</i>	<i>Agde</i>	<i>Burgundy</i>	<i>Dauphiné</i>	<i>Gascony</i>	<i>Lezat</i>	<i>Limousin</i>	<i>Paris</i>	<i>Vendôme</i>
1100-1129	19	11	13	17	13	15	10		
1130-1159	15	11	13	17	13	15	10		
1160-1187	18	11	13	17	13	15	10		
1188-1219	20	10	11		12	12			
1220-1259	15	10	11		12	12		8	5
1260-1291	16		11						

Number of names accounting for top 50% of the population (Italy and London)

<i>Period</i>	<i>Latin Kingdom</i>	<i>Chieri</i>	<i>Emilia</i>	<i>Genoa</i>	<i>Parma</i>	<i>Rome</i>	<i>Veneto</i>	<i>London</i>
1100-1129	19							
1130-1159	15							
1160-1187	18							
1188-1219	20		11		9	6		
1220-1259	15		10			5	26	
1260-1291	16	9		8			16	5

Figure 6 The concentration rates with and without John

Period	1100–1229	1130–1159	1160–1189	1190–1219	1220–1259	1260–1291
Including John	23.9%	25.8%	26.1%	23.5%	30.3%	29.7%
Excluding John	23.9%	25.6%	24.6%	20.6%	23.1%	23.7%

a more stable pattern when the effect of John is neutralized; this seems to emphasize the distinct role played by the name John in the concentration index for the Latin East.

1.c. Condensation

The condensation index measures the average number of names found in a sample of people, usually normalized for a sample of 100 individuals. It is represented by an integer (not a fraction), computed by dividing names by individuals, then multiplying by 100. Thus, for any given number of people, the higher the index – the fewer homonyms, and vice versa: a smaller number indicates that more people carry identical names²⁸.

Figure 7 Condensation rates 1100–1291

Period	1100–1229	1130–1159	1160–1189	1190–1219	1220–1259	1260–1291
<i>Names</i>	185	250	363	220	303	242
<i>Population size</i>	565	1046	1772	766	1263	762
<i>Condensation rate</i>	33	24	20	29	24	32

The table plots the condensation rates for the actual population size in each 30-year period of the Frankish Kingdom. After a decline during the 12th century the index rises sharply in the 4th period (1190–1219), indicating that in this period less people than before, or after, carry the same name. This rupture accords with the sink of the concentration level at the same period (Fig. 6), and may provide another indication for a profound change in the name stock²⁹.

The lowest condensation level is found in the preceding period (1160–1190), with the index of 20 indicating that every 5 individuals carry the same name. This means

²⁸ See P. Chareille, "Éléments pour un traitement statistique des données anthroponymiques", *GMAM*, II-2, 1992, pp. 294–297.

²⁹ A pause in the course of the condensation process (and concentration as well) was observed also in few other local studies in Western Europe, see Bourin, "France du Midi", pp. 184, 185, 197.

greater homonymity and density of the name stock, thereby a climax of a development that occurred throughout the 12th century, followed by a transformation at the turn of that century.

However, the condensation levels in the raw data should be interpreted with caution. By its features, the index of condensation is sensitive to the size of the sample: the index is higher in smaller samples. This may account for the elevated rates in periods 1, 4 and 6, where the number of people recorded is smaller. Thus, it is feasible that the differences are partly mathematical³⁰.

To control for the distortion created by the varying population size, the condensation rates were also calculated from random even samples of 100, 250, 500 individuals (and 750 where possible), drawn from each period.

The measures are plotted in Fig. 8. First, these data demonstrate the sensitivity of the condensation index to the sample size, i.e. the index is significantly higher in smaller samples. This effect should be taken into consideration when comparing actual condensation rates between periods and localities, which are based on different sample sizes. Offsetting the effect of the sample size, the measures of condensation in each even sample are rather consistent throughout the six periods of the study. The condensation measure in the sample of 250 ranges between 39-43, the 500 sample between 27-32, and the 750 sample ranges between 39-40 – and are thus very robust³¹.

The measures plotted in the table do not show any clear bent, indicating no major transformation in the general structure of the name distribution over the 200 years. This allows for a more accurate depiction of the dispersion of names, and emphasizes the phenomena related to naming preferences.

1.d. Global concentration

Based on the Gini coefficient³², global concentration presents the extent of dispersion in the distribution of names in the population. The index ranges between 0 and 1. A measure of 0 represents a situation when each name in the sample is carried by an equal number of individuals. A measure of 1 represents a situation when one name is carried by all individuals in the sample. These two situations represent the endmost

³⁰ To learn more about the meaning of the condensation index, it would also be useful to look at the actual groups of similar size, like in the 4th and 6th periods (766 and 763 individuals correspondingly), or the periods where the indexes correspond, like in the 2nd and 5th periods (both having an index of 24); this will be taken up later in Chapter 4. The sensitivity of the index to the sample size lies in the fact that the number of the most common names remains unchanged even when the sample size is increased, which is not true of rare names, whose number may be proportional to the sample size.

³¹ The numbers reported in the table are averages of 3 even random samples, except when the actual sample size is too small.

³² The Gini coefficient was originally developed by the Italian statistician Corrado Gini to measure social and economic inequalities.

Figure 8 Condensation rates in random sampling

	1100-1130		1131-1160		1161-1190		1191-1220		1221-1250		1251-1280	
	persons	cond.	persons	cond.	Persons	cond.	persons	cond.	persons	cond.	persons	cond.
Latin Kingdom	565	33	1046	24	1772	20	766	29	1263	24	762	32
Latin Kingdom	100	57	100	48	100	58	100	60	100	52	100	57
Latin Kingdom	250	40	250	39	250	43	250	42	250	39	250	40
Latin Kingdom	500		500	28	500	32	500	27	500	30	500	30

cases. For example, in European samples, the increase of index toward 1 implies the general expansion of homonymity.

The global concentration index aims to integrate the indexes of concentration and condensation, but is different from both. While the concentration index measures the accumulated frequency of the top name choices, global concentration also takes into account the distribution of frequencies over all names, including, significantly, the frequency of the rarer names, which compose the 'tail' of the distribution. And while the condensation index represents the number of names per one hundred people, the global concentration also represents their frequency. For example, assume that there are ten names and one hundred people in a sample. Whether each name is carried by an equal number of people (i.e., 10 people) or one name is carried by 91 people, and the rest of the nine names by one person each, the condensation index will be the same. But the global concentration in each case is different. In the first case it will be 0, whereas in the second case it will be close to 1³³.

Figure 9 Concentration, global concentration and condensation

<i>Period</i>	<i>Concentration by top 5 names</i>	<i>Global concentration</i>	<i>Condensation</i>
1100-1129	23.9%	0.56	33
1130-1159	25.8%	0.66	24
1160-1189	26.1%	0.69	20
1190-1219	23.5%	0.59	29
1220-1259	30.3%	0.67	24
1260-1291	29.7%	0.60	32

If we take, for example, the measures of the Frankish Kingdom in the years 1160-1189 (3rd period), we see the increase in homonymity in comparison with the previous period demonstrated in three ways: the proportion of people carrying the 5 most dominant names has increased, the Gini index moves closer to 1, indicating a change in distribution (and perhaps a smaller number of names in circulation), and the condensation shows the smallest ever number of names in use by the given population.

The changes in concentration and global concentration between the 3rd and the 4th periods show a decrease in the extent of clustering around the most dominant

³³ Another example: assume that there are 5 names and one hundred people in the sample. Whether each name is carried by an equal number of people (i.e., 20 people) or one name is carried by 96 people, and the rest of the four names by one person each, the condensation and concentration indexes will be the same in both cases. The concentration in each case is 100%, and the condensation in each case is 5. But the global concentration in each case is different. In the first case it will be 0, whereas in the second case it will be close to 1. See also P. Chareille, "Traitement statistique des données", *GMAM* II-2, pp. 296-297.

names. And indeed, as seen in Fig. 1, except for John, the frequency of the other top names slightly decreases. This means that new names entered the name repertory in the years following 1189, diluting the previously existing concentration of names. It is also interesting to compare the 1st and the 4th periods. The decline in concentration levels reflects, I assume, the entrance of newcomers around the turn of the 13th century. These newcomers bring new names into the Frankish Kingdom's name repertory. However, the difference in condensation (33 compared with 29) may indicate that this group arrived with a more dense name stock than the group recorded in the beginning of the First Kingdom, thus apparently reflecting the process of increasing condensation that occurred in Catholic Europe itself³⁴.

The difference in the global concentration reflects, as indicated above, the role of rarer names. When comparing period 3 and 4, there is also a marked difference in the proportion of rarer names: in 1160-1189, names that occur 5 times or fewer amount to 25.7% of the total names in the period, while in 1190-1219 period names that occur 5 times or fewer amount to 39.9% of the total names in the period. Among those rare names, appearing in the 3rd period are: *Bastardus*, *Drogo*, *Hermengaldus*, *Karolus*, *Marinus*, *Rolandus*, *Salvagijs* and *Ursus*, and in the 4th period: *Adjutus*, *Arlettus*, *Bonefrage*, *Guelfus*, *Moroneus*, *Rubeus* and *Vilanus*.

1e. Preponderance of by-names (The relationship between by-names and homonymity)

Figure 10 demonstrates the difference in concentration of first names between two groups: holders of a by-name and those who do not have a by-name.

The table shows that the groups are of similar size. Yet, the number of names in circulation among non-holders of a by-name is higher than among holders of a by-name by 250 names, or by 57%. Consequently, the concentration level in this group is also significantly lower (i.e. the names are distributed more evenly). It follows that the group of people with last names, having another feature of identification, uses the most popular names more often than people without last names.

Indeed, the most popular names are the same in both groups, but their frequencies are different. Among those *without* by-names the frequencies of the top names are about half as much as among possessors of by-names.

An examination of the two phenomena based on random and even sampling highlights the correlation. The rates of condensation and concentration with and without last names in even samples (which offset the effects of population size), reveal clearly the interdependence of the increasing frequency of certain names, especially John, and the proliferation of last names; the former would not be practicable without the latter.

³⁴ This assumption calls for reservation, since the condensation rates fluctuate strongly with the sample size. In even sampling of 100 and 250 – the change in condensation *does not* occur. Also, the evolution in condensation in 12th century Europe cannot be traced systematically due to uneven and interrupted samples.

Figure 10 Relationship between the use of by-names and first-name concentration rates

	With by-names		Without by-name	
<i>Number of people</i>	3327(54%)		2847(46%)	
<i>Number of names</i>	438		688	
<i>Top 10 concentration rate</i>	44%		26%	
<i>Top 10 names</i>	John	9.5%	John	4.7%
	William	8.5%	Peter	3.8%
	Peter	7.8%	William	3.7%
	Hugh	4.1%	Gerald	2.5%
	Robert	2.7%	Hugh	2.4%
	Gerald	2.6%	Stephen	2.2%
	Raymond	2.4%	Godfrey	2.0%
	Walter	2.3%	Ralph	1.9%
	James	2.1%	Bernard	1.7%
	Baldwin	2.0%	Raymond	1.6%

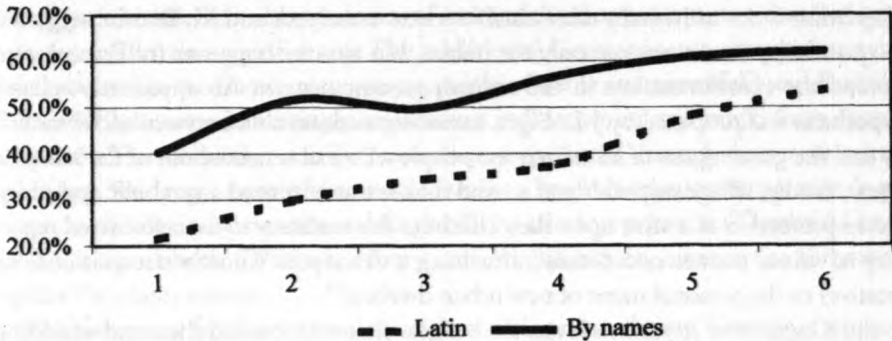
Yet more support to the correlation between homonymity and by-names provide the findings on core names, discussed below in section 2.c..

The issue of correlation between homonymity and the increased appearance of by-names has been treated statistically only by the GMAM group in France. Their findings from different regions in Catholic Europe have been complex and indecisive³⁵. C. Clark, referring to England, links homonymity in general with "over-reliance" on a few preferred personal names (among other causes), but contends that the precise source of the evolution is 'probably undiscoverable'³⁶. It should be remembered that the nature of a by-name, which is not fixed and hereditary like a surname and was sometime formed *ad hoc* by scribes, impedes the analysis of the process. However, the strong correlation (without yet referring to causality) between reduction of the stock of first names, and the preponderance of by-names is, at present, a finding unique to the Frankish Kingdom in this period.

³⁵ Bourin and Chareille, "Bilans et projets", in *GMAMII-2* (1992) p. 306, indicate that the correlation between the contraction of the name stock and the appearance of a by-name is not always clear, and in some regions the appearance of the second element precedes the condensation of the name stock, and suggest that the disappearance of single names becomes more pronounced when the stock of names shrinks by about 50%. In Bourin, "France du Midi et France du nord" (1996), pp.190-192, findings show that, e.g., in the southwest of France, where the contraction of the name stock occurred earlier than in other parts, the addition of a surname also occurs earlier; it is emphasized, however, that the process was very slow all over France.

³⁶ "Onomastics" in *CHEL*, p. 567.

Figure 11 Latin names and the increase of by-names in the Latin Kingdom



Yet another phenomenon linked with the expansion of by-names is the growing preference of saints' names. These names comprised a finite repertory in which the choices were limited. An attempt to ascertain which of the two phenomena occurs earlier in the Frankish Levant was conducted examining the rapidity of the rise of saints' names and Latin names (these two groups roughly overlap): the rise of Latin/saints' names appears to have occurred faster than the rise in use of by-names (Fig. 11), suggesting that the restriction of name choices induced the addition of by-names. Seemingly, possessing a by-name may facilitate naming after a prominent namesake, or, vice versa, choosing a most popular namesake may necessitate using a by-name. Take for example the name John, one of the most preferred names by the Ibelin family (along with Balian): around the middle of the 13th century there were five active and prominent Johns of Ibelin, necessarily designated also by lordship, title or other by-name (e.g. "junior")³⁷.

However, homonymity is not the only factor related to the appearance of by-names. The use of an additional descriptor was a process documented in Catholic Europe from the middle of the 11th century, and its occurrence increased ever after. The incentives for this process include an increasing tendency towards greater formality and accuracy in identifying people (using various identifiers as by-names); it may have been an indication of the individuals' growing public consciousness, and a result of a perception of the name as a social marker, connoting, e.g., assets, office or position³⁸.

³⁷ John of Beirut ('Old Lord'), 1205-1236; John I of Arsuf, 1241-1258; John II of Beirut, 1247-1264; John of Jaffa (jurist), 1247-1266; John II of Arsuf, 1277-1309. See J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility of the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174-1277*, pp. 316-317; RRH, index, under "Ibelin".

³⁸ These possible factors are discussed in: Bourin and Chareille, "Bilans et projets", *GMAM* II-2. On surnames, mainly toponymic, see also discussion by K. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, pp. 34-38, B.Z. Kedar; "Toponymic surnames", *Viator* 4 (1973) pp. 123-129; and D. Postles, "Notions of the Family, Lordship and the Evolution of Naming Processes in Medieval English Rural Society: a Regional Example", *Continuity and Change* 10 (1995) p. 170.

It has also been suggested that the expansion of use of by-names followed a fashion and imitation dynamics, with the higher social strata leading the way³⁹. This type of adaptation is not universally ascertainable where examined, and M. Bourin suggested the possibility that it was not only the nobles, but also the burgesses (of France) who headed the transformation in the anthroponymic system. An apparently related hypothesis was proposed by J-L. Biget, assuming a connection between social mobility and the growing use of saints' names: people who had ventured out of the safety of home, family, village or parish and moved into towns bestowed a symbolic and ubiquitous protection of a saint upon their children; the tendency to use a restricted repertory of saints' names necessitated attaching a descriptor (mostly occupational or locative) to the personal name of new urban dwellers⁴⁰.

In the Kingdom of Jerusalem it was the burgess class who headed the trend of adding a by-name in the 12th century. The nobility did not lead the process, as it did in various regions of Catholic Europe⁴¹. Rather, the Frankish nobility seems to have caught up with the trend, and in the 13th century the nobles and non-nobles shared the trend to an equal extent (Fig.21). And, in the Frankish Kingdom, as in Catholic Europe, the slowest social group to adopt by-names was the clergy⁴².

2. Analyses

2.a. Typological analysis: Latin, Germanic and 'oriental' names, saints' names

The process of transformation of the Frankish stock of names in the Levant from mainly Germanic to mainly Latin followed the European trends: a gradual decrease in the proportion of Germanic personal names and a concurrent increase in names of Latin origin (these include names of both Hebrew and Greek derivation, which by this time became part of the Latin repertory).

In this process, names of Latin origin steadily gained currency. It is difficult to distinguish sharply between Latin names and saints' names' evolution since these categories became largely overlapping. It seems that the main reason for the increased use of Latin names was the growing preference of saints' names, derived mainly from the Early Christian repertory of apostles and martyrs, whose names appertain to the Greek-Roman stock of the pre-invasion period in Western Europe. Rare are the Latin

³⁹ See C. Klapisch-Zuber, "Le nom refait", *L'Homme* 20 (1980), p.78.

⁴⁰ "France du Midi et France du nord", p.192; J-L. Biget, "L'évolution des noms de baptême", p. 334.

⁴¹ See Bourin, "Bilan de l'équète", *GMAM* I, pp.238-243; Bourin and Chareille, "Bilans et projets", *GMAM* II-2, pp. 311-318; Postles, "Notions of Family", *Continuity and Change*, 10 (1995), pp.169-170.

⁴² For studies on the expansion of surnames see *GMAM* II, "Persistances du nom unique", parts 1 and 2. For clergy, *ibid.*, vol. II-1, "L'anthroponymie des clercs". A preliminary attempt to differentiate between types of by-names used by different social groups is presented in C. Clark, "Socio-economic status and individual identity", in *WNH*, pp.100-113.

names of Roman origin that did not gain any Christian significance (e.g. Caesar/Cesar), and newer Latin names, (e.g. Bonivasal, Homodeus) were fairly uncommon. This process entailed the disappearance of most of the Germanic names that had not acquired a Christian significance. The traditional Germanic two-element names, which abound in the Carolingian era, e.g. Adalric ('noble and powerful') and Bernulf ('bear-wolf'), became increasingly uncommon in European name stocks from about 1000 AD⁴³. The names that survived were those perpetuated through dynastic mechanisms (e.g. Baldwin), especially in noble families, by their aristocratic prestige (e.g. Robert, especially in Normandy and England), by saintly reputation (Theobald,) or a combination of both (William, Henry and Hugh), which came up as the most popular Germanic names.

When observed from an etymological-linguistic point of view, Germanic names, both in Catholic Europe and in the Latin East were on the decline. The dying-out of Old Germanic dialects and the partial recovery of Romance perhaps enhanced the process. The decline of Germanic names in Catholic Europe was universal; it became clearly visible during the 12th century, although local variation did exist in the regions hitherto studied⁴⁴.

Two charts demonstrate this evolution in the Frankish Kingdom. Fig. 12 shows the ascending trend line of Latin names, and the descending one of Germanic names. A decisive moment seems to be when the trends intersect (identical rates), around 1260. From this time onwards, Latin names were the majority in the Frankish stock. Furthermore, the number of Latin names in circulation did not rise significantly until 1260 – it was essentially constant from 1130 (Fig. 13, unbroken line), and only the frequency of the application of these names increased.

The percentage of Germanic names in the stock also decreased over time, and this suggests that the choices of Germanic names became slightly more concentrated⁴⁵, i.e. that a few Germanic names maintained their prestige at the expense of others which had been forsaken. The decreasing popularity of Germanic choices is manifested in the list of top names: out of the 10 top names at the beginning of the 12th century – 9 were Germanic; at the end of the 13th century only 4 out of 10 were Germanic⁴⁶.

In addition to Latin and Germanic names, there was a small proportion of names of other origins: Arabic (Youseph, Solimanus, Saliba), Armenian (Sempad, Sebe), Byzantine (Basilius, Chosmas, Constantinus), Celtic (Evenus, Herveus, Arthurius)

⁴³ The possibility of permutation and re-mixing Germanic name-elements to form new names created a potentially infinite name-pool; the abandoning of these names necessarily restricted choices.

⁴⁴ Bourin, "France du Midi", p.186.

⁴⁵ The concentration rates for Germanic names by periods are (in percentage): 43.6; 48.3; 45.6; 40.6; 51.2; 50.0.

⁴⁶ The compared concentration of the Germanic names in the two periods reveals the same evolution: 43% in the first period and 50% in the sixth period, showing that fewer Germanic names are used more frequently. For the list of ten dominant names, compared to European lists where available, see chapter 4 (section 2.a.) below.

Figure 12 Percentage of people carrying Germanic and Latin names in Frankish population

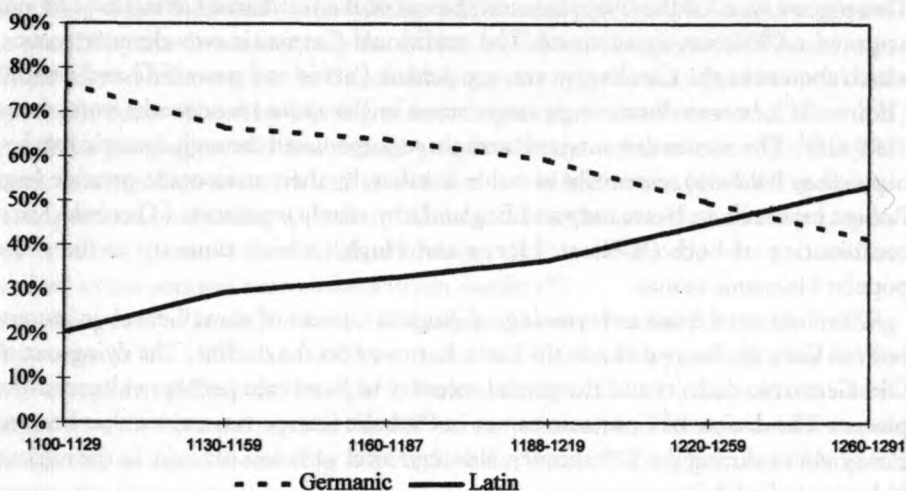
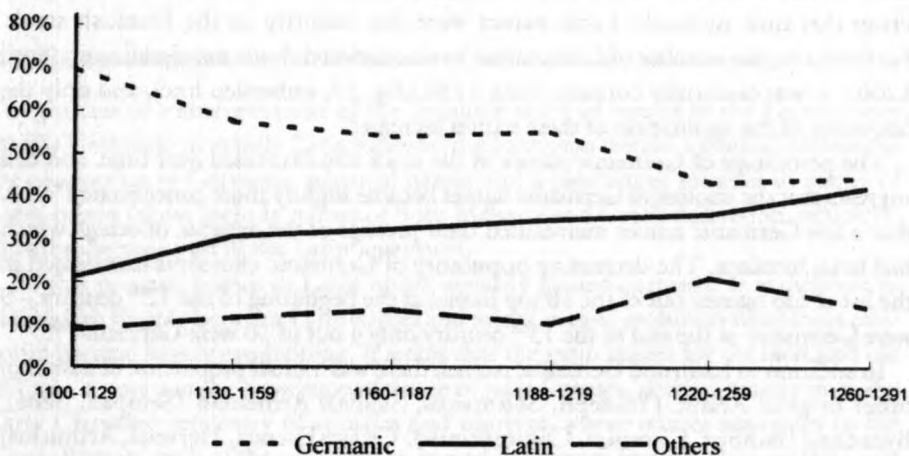


Figure 13 Percentage Germanic and Latin names in Frankish name stock



and unidentified (*Selet, Cudener*). These names, amounting to 2.5% of the population, do not affect the dominant trends.

The frequency of Latin names increased in 11th-13th centuries, but it did so only within the latitude of saints' names; as indicated above, a few Germanic saints' names account for the difference between the evolution of the corpus of Latin names and that of saints' names.

The increased frequency of saints' names was a display of strengthening religious emotions, though their increased popularity could have been spread by an imitation and fashion mechanism. Increasing piety may be either popularly emanated, or incited by religious authority. Religious guidance was realized, in this context, by the Catholic Church's insistence upon shortening the interval between birth and baptism, thereby bonding the name giving and baptism ceremonies⁴⁷. Up until the 12th century baptism of newborns was withheld to the eves of Easter or Pentecost following birth, when a bishop would initiate the infants. Yet, by then the infants already possessed a given name, chosen by their kin. In the 12th century the church began to abandon this practice, and required all newborns to be baptized within a few days after birth. This change implied that bishops were no longer present at most baptisms, but on the other hand, that the name was given more often in the presence of a priest, as was probably the case also in the Frankish Kingdom⁴⁸. The priest did what he could to assure that no obscene, ridiculous or infidel names were imposed, and recommended choice of names of central saints, apostles and fathers of the church⁴⁹. Indeed, baptismal naming may have been a factor in the perfusion of naming after John the Baptist.

In addition, the centrality of certain saints was spelled out by regional councils ordering that the feasts of the twelve apostles be generally celebrated (and these instructions were usually followed), by requiring local fairs to coincide with saints' feasts, by growing use of liturgical dating⁵⁰ or by reading of saints' lives whose abridged exploits appeared in collections like Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale* (c.1240-1250), Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* (c.1267), which had a phenomenal diffusion, or the *Vitae* compiled by Bernard Gui (early 14th century), which featured many early Christian saints.

The pursuit of spiritual protection was manifest in the various practices of the cult of saints: pilgrimage within and outside Europe, church dedications, burial in the vicinity of saints' relics (especially in royal and aristocratic families), and other manifestations. Naming after saints, though performed within a private context, was thus meshed in an intensifying Christian fabric, with its many public displays.

⁴⁷ See J. D. C. Fisher, *Christian Initiation: Baptism in the Medieval West: A Study in the Disintegration of the Primitive Rite of Initiation* (London 1965) pp. 109ff, and P. Riché, *Education et culture dans l'occident barbare* (Paris, 1962), p. 482 and O. Pontal, *Les statuts synodaux français du XIII^e siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1983) p.280; D. M. Schnurr, *The 'quamprimum' of infant Baptism in the Western Church* (unpublished dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1980), as well as discussion in chapter I above. The theological advocacy of *quamprimum* baptism is already found in Augustine of Hippo's writings on remission of the original sin and infant baptism, *Epist.* CXLIV, 23.

⁴⁸ B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 87, n.4.

⁴⁹ Yet this was not formulated as a rigorous requirement, not even by the Council of Trent (1545-1563), which discussed many issues concerning baptism.

⁵⁰ See R. Favreau, "La datation dans les inscriptions médiévales françaises", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 157 (1999), pp. 31-37.

Which saints were people named after? Peter was the most popular of the apostles, and the only major saint's name among the most popular names in France until the middle of the 12th century; in most French regions it peaked in the 13th century and was then replaced by John. Next to Peter, in almost all regions but especially in the Midi, was William, whose multiple valency assured its high ranking for centuries. Stephen, the first martyr, was common among clerics, as was Anthony among monks and friars⁵¹. In 10th century Poitou, for example, Stephen, Peter and John ranked 9-11 among the top names; in the 12th century Peter ranked second, John sixth and Stephen eighth⁵². Apostles' names, patron saints' and archangel names came to rank among the more popular names around the turn of the 13th century⁵³, reflecting both popular attachment to these saints and anticipation of their patronage, as well as response to Church instruction concerning their worship⁵⁴. As shown earlier, of all saints' names, John was gaining the advantage everywhere, albeit in varying rhythms⁵⁵.

Recognition in sanctity of new figures was very often incited by popular veneration⁵⁶, and thus seems linked tightly to name giving. Yet, it is noteworthy that local saints had limited impact in limited regions, and regional saints' names were not the dominant names of their regions (but a regional distinction is evident)⁵⁷.

When tracing the dissemination of saints' names throughout the various social strata, most studies assert that the nobility was, at least initially, resistant to the trend. Studies in Poitou, Limousin, Languedoc, Picardy, and Italy reveal this phenomenon. A study centred on north Italian aristocracy found that until the end of the 12th century Germanic names were the majority in this group, and while in the 11th-12th centuries John and Peter were already becoming popular among non-nobles, they

⁵¹ In general, however, major differences did not exist between the onomasticons of clerics and lay people. See M. Bourin and P. Chareille, "Conclusion", in *GMAM* II-1 *L'anthroponymie des clercs*, pp. 150-153; H. Duffaut, "Recherches historiques sur les prénoms en Languedoc", *Annales du Midi* 11(1899), pp.332-333.

⁵² A similar evolution occurred in Aquitaine and other regions of France, see Mitterauer, *Ahnen und Heilige* p. 255; G. T. Beech, "Les noms de personne poitevins du 9e au 12e siècle", *Revue internationale d'onomastique* 26 (1974), pp. 81-100.

⁵³ In 1292 and 1313 these Parisian names (ranking within the first 20), were all rising: Nicholas, Thomas, Simon, Jacques, Philip, Michael. In other regions (e.g. the Limousin, Languedoc, Poitou) Anthony, Barthélemy, Lawrence and Andrew were rising as well.

⁵⁴ Mitterauer, *Ahnen und Heilige*, p. 278.

⁵⁵ On the growing popularity of John see above, section 1.a. in this chapter.

⁵⁶ Papal regulation of canonization was established in the period 1159-1234, from the canonizations by Alexander III to the *Decretals* of Gregory IX in 1234. The procedure of beatification/canonization was formally decreed at the beginning of the 17th century by Urban VIII, who strictly banned public veneration of persons not canonized by the Holy See. See E. W. Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (Oxford [1948] 1980) pp. 82 ff, 107, 145. D. Weinstein and R.M. Bell suggest that throughout the Middle Ages saintly reputation often originated in popular admiration, see, *Saints and Society* (Chicago UP, 1982), appendix on method, pp. 279 ff.

⁵⁷ Bourin, *GMAM* II-2, p. 304; L. Perouas et al. *Léonard, Marie, Jean et les autres: les prénoms en Limousin depuis un millénaire* (Paris 1984), p.70.

remained almost non-existent in the nobility⁵⁸. In the Limousin, where long-term data are available, only in 1470 did most of the nobility carry "Christian" names⁵⁹, whereas among non-nobles this was attained already in the 13th century.

Figure 14 "Christian names" by social class in the Limousin⁶⁰

	<i>Nobility</i>	<i>Burgesses</i>	<i>Peasantry</i>	<i>All groups</i>
13 th century	51%	63%		57%
14 th century	46%	72%	70-81%	63%
15 th century	49%	77-82%	82-94%	70%
(2 nd half)	73.5%			

The same trend is apparent also in Genoa. Data from the 14th century show the rate of hagionymy to be consistently higher among non-nobles than among nobles. In 1327 non-nobles showed a rate of 55.3% saints' names, while nobles had 45.8%. At the end of that century (1396), non-nobles had 80.6% saints' names, while nobles had only 56.3%⁶¹. The findings from the Limousin and from Genoa show that hagionymy was on the rise in all social strata, but among non-nobles the rates were always higher.

The crusades themselves were one manifestation of deepening religious sentiments, and the evolution in the Frankish Kingdom naturally accords with the general evolution in Catholic Europe. The names of central saints were on the rise, and saints of specifically local significance had marginal occurrence⁶². In the last quarter of the 13th century nearly 50% of the population carried saints' names, while saints' names accounted for about 19% of the Frankish name stock (Fig.15). The chart shows a

⁵⁸ G.T. Beech, "Les noms de personne poitevins", p. 91; L. Perouas et al. *Léonard, Marie, Jean et les autres...*, pp.54-55; J-L. Biget, "L'évolution des noms de baptême", pp. 309, 332, 334; F. Menant, "Les Modes de dénomination de l'aristocratie italienne aux XIe et XIIe siècles: premières réflexions à partir d'exemples lombards", *MEFRM* 107 (1995), p.552.

⁵⁹ This category is somewhat larger than "saints' names", as it includes also theophoric names, e.g. Amadeus, and names from the Old Testament, e.g. Isaac. In the Latin Kingdom these Christian non-saint names constitute an insignificant fraction.

⁶⁰ L. Perouas et al. *Léonard, Marie, Jean et les autres*, pp.51, 54. The nobility's resistance to saints' names was presumably a resistance to renewal or change of dynastic name stocks, within which first sons would receive the same name for generations, as well as their cadets, thus establishing a few names as genealogical hallmarks.

⁶¹ Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis*, p.101.

⁶² Saints appearing in the Calendars of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and in litanies of saints in the Psalter of Queen Melisende, the Angelica Sacramentary, and the *Riccardiana* and Barberini Psalters were marked as saints' names, but their representation in the Frankish name stock is insignificant. See F. Wormald, "The Calendars of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem" and "The Litanies of Saints", in H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), App. I. See also chapter 2 above.

steady increase in the proportion of people carrying saints' names, while the proportion of saints' names within the name-stock remained generally constant; this implies that over time, an ever increasing number of people carried the same number of saints' names, i.e. that the stock itself was not expanding, only the frequency of the names' application was growing.

And while at the beginning of the 12th century only one of the top 5 names was a saint's name, at the end of the 13th century only one out of the top 5 was *not* a saint's name. Significantly, the top 5 names in these two periods represent an almost equal portion of the population (24% and 25%), thus clearly showing the transformation of preferences.

2.b. Comparisons between groups of the population

The four groups examined in the Frankish population of the Kingdom of Jerusalem – the clergy, nobility, bourgeoisie, and the military orders, present distinct name distributions. This section highlights the predominant differences in the top choices of personal names between these groups, and defines the characteristics of the name distribution in each group.

John, Peter, and the others

A striking difference between the burgesses and the other groups is the prevalence of Peter (Fig.3). Peter tops the burgess list with a 9.9% frequency, while William and Bernard follow next with 6% each. John comes 4th with 5.5% frequency over the study period⁶³. Peter was the typical burgess name in the Frankish Kingdom, possibly indicating that the Frankish burgesses originated in southern French rural regions⁶⁴, and this may be supported by the other top names in this list, William and Bernard, which up to the 13th century were the most popular names in southern France, and also by the lower ranking of John. It should be noted that most of the people composing this group in the database are clustered in the 12th century (381 out of 434, see Fig.16).

Among the nobility, (Fig. 17) Peter was much less popular than among the non-nobles, ranking 6th (with 2.7%), showing an obvious difference from the burgess class. The other top noble names were William, a consistently popular name⁶⁵, and classic European aristocratic names: Hugh, Baldwin, Henry and Walter. Bernard, a common burgess name (in the Frankish Kingdom) is altogether missing from the 20

⁶³ It should be noted that the sample of positively identified burgesses is relatively small, consisting of 434 individuals. The rest of the burgess class is perforce included in the group of individuals in the data set who are not linked with a particular social class.

⁶⁴ See discussion in this chapter, section 1.a above.

⁶⁵ As indicated above (section 1.a.) William is frequent almost always and everywhere, and the name is therefore too diffuse for comparison.

leading nobility names. Yet another remarkable difference between the nobility and the burgess is the ranking and frequency of John, which held double the frequency among nobles as among burgesses, and whose frequency among the nobility peaked to 18.6% in the middle of the 13th century. The high frequency of John within the nobility stands out, when compared both with aristocratic samples in Catholic Europe and with the non-noble population in the Frankish Kingdom⁶⁶.

The members of the church share with the nobility a comparable popularity of John, but this is, William aside, the only point of convergence, though it may be significant, as it may indicate an increased religious consciousness of a localized pattern among these groups. The other more popular names in the church were Stephen, Gerald, Hugh, Bernard and Ralph, Geoffrey and Nicholas – a diversified group of names. The ecclesiastical establishment in the Latin Kingdom was made up partly of churchmen transferred from Catholic Europe, particularly to fill the higher offices, and of indigenous Latins, mainly furnishing the lower ranks, who were probably less educated than their European counterparts⁶⁷. About these lower ranking officials (and monks) almost nothing is known, except their personal names and the fact that they attested formal acts. It is known, however that the Frankish Kingdom noble families generally did not dedicate sons to religious life (which was not the case with daughters), as was customarily done in Europe.

The general naming pattern of the military orders seems quite distinct from that of the members of the Frankish nobility, and this is consistent with the fact that both their activities and recruitment normally took place outside the Latin Kingdom. In the orders, John had an only mildly popular position (ranking fifth with 3.5% frequency; 25 individuals). It may be postulated that while the Knights of St. John naturally did not transmit the name, the order's long-standing prestige in the Latin Kingdom may have resonated in the name choices of the upper class. From 1190 the Hospitallers had a papal permission to baptize infants abandoned at their doorstep or born in the Hospital (these children are referred to as *filii beati Iohannis*, and evidence suggests that their number was not small)⁶⁸.

William was the most popular name (9.2%; n=65) among the members of the military orders, followed closely by Peter (7.2%; n=51) and then came Gerald, Stephen, Henry, Bernard, Raymond, Robert and Hugh.

A remarkable affinity is noticeable between the most popular names in the military orders and among clerics – the five leading names in the two groups are the *same*

⁶⁶ Table 3 and chapter 4, section 2.c.

⁶⁷ See Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 135-143; Also Kedar, referring to the clergy as "lowbrow" in "The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant" in *Muslims under Latin Rule 1100-1300*, ed. J.M. Powell (Princeton, 1990), pp.173-174.

⁶⁸ Delaville Le Roulx, vol. 1, no. 898. On the care of children by the Jerusalem Hospital see Kedar, "A Twelfth-Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital" in *The Military Orders. Vol. 2: Welfare and Warfare*, ed. H. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1998), p.6.

Figure 15 Evolution of saint's names in Frankish population

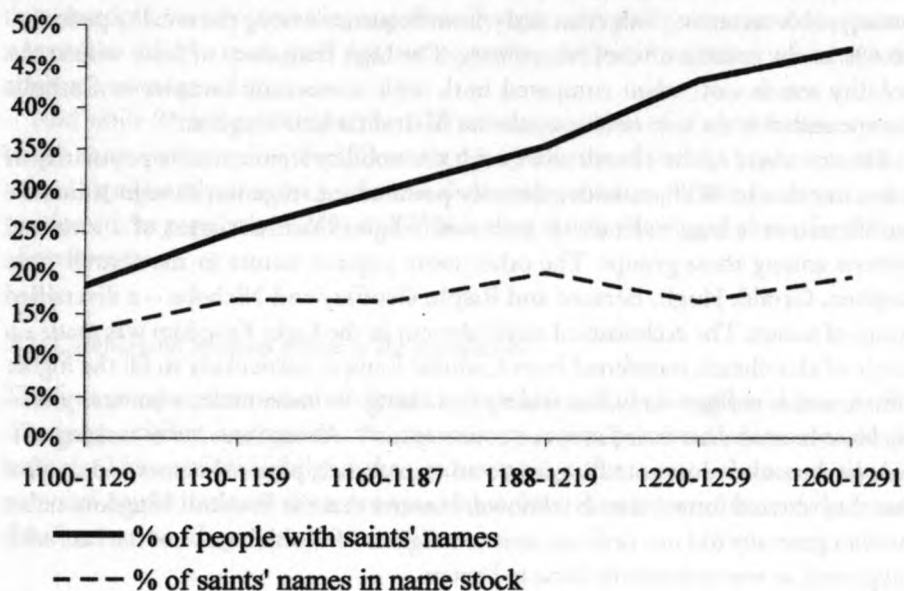


Figure 16 Top-name frequencies in Frankish burgesses in the 12th century

1100-1129		1130-1159		1160-1187	
No. of people	40	No. of people	199	No. of people	142
Name	Freq.	Name	Freq.	Name	Freq.
Peter	12.5%	Peter	9.5%	Peter	12.0%
Berenger	5.0%	William	8.0%	John	7.0%
Geoffrey	5.0%	Bernard	7.0%	Bernard	6.3%
Rudolph	5.0%	Gerald	4.0%	William	5.6%
Robert	5.0%	John	4.0%	Guy	4.2%
Acard	2.5%	Robert	4.0%	Stephen	3.5%
Albert	2.5%	Pons	3.5%	Geoffrey	2.8%
Andrew	2.5%	Stephen	3.5%	Hugh	2.8%
Ansquetin	2.5%	Walter	3.0%	Robert	2.8%
Bernard	2.5%	Reynald	3.0%	Andrew	2.1%
Concentration	45.0%		49.7%		49.3%

Figure 17 Top-name frequencies in Frankish nobility 1100-1291

1100–1129	1130–1159		1160–1187		1188–1219		1220–1259		1260–1291		
No. of people	74		158		305		129		119		
<i>Name</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
Hugh	6.8%	William	8.2%	Hugh	7.5%	John	7.8%	John	18.6%	John	17.6%
Baldwin	5.4%	Robert	4.4%	William	4.9%	William	5.4%	Hugh	5.4%	Guy	6.7%
Gerald	5.4%	Walter	3.8%	Reynald	4.9%	Henry	5.4%	Henry	5.1%	Peter	5.9%
Guy	5.4%	Geoffrey	3.8%	Raymond	3.9%	Thomas	4.7%	William	3.7%	Philip	5.0%
William	5.4%	Peter	3.8%	Baldwin	3.6%	Rudolph	3.9%	Philip	3.7%	William	4.2%
Bertrand	4.1%	Baldwin	3.2%	Peter	3.3%	Americ	3.1%	Thomas	3.4%	Henry	4.2%
Eustace	4.1%	John	3.2%	Balian	2.6%	Raymond	3.1%	Baldwin	3.0%	Balian	2.5%
Simon	4.1%	Adam	2.5%	John	2.6%	Baldwin	2.3%	Walter	3.0%	Bohemond	2.5%
Balian	2.7%	Gerald	2.5%	Walter	2.3%	Bertrand	2.3%	Geoffrey	2.0%	Walter	2.5%
Bohemond	2.7%	Joscelyn	2.5%	Bernard	2.0%	Walter	2.3%	Guy	2.0%	Hugh	2.5%
Concentration	45.9%		38.0%		37.7%		40.3%		50.0%		

names, but in a different order, and with one striking difference – the frequency of John, which is more than twice as popular in the church as in the orders, and which may portray the clergy as a more indigenous group. This similarity may have been a consequence of the fact that most of the members of the military orders were not elder sons, as were the clergy⁶⁹. The military orders recruited all over Europe and the wide geographical range may have resulted in their particular pattern. They also recruited mainly among the European nobility, and therefore may be taken as representing more closely Western trends. As indicated above, the European noble class was slower than non-nobles in adopting saints' names, and in particular the name John⁷⁰, and this may provide an explanation for the great difference in the frequency of John in these two Frankish groups.

Evolution of Latin and saints' names: the difference between groups

The distinctive name patterns of the military orders and the nobility are also manifest when comparing the evolution of Latin names. Among the military orders the frequency of Latin names is fairly static throughout the two centuries (Fig. 18), indicating that this group did not share the rise of Latin names, clearly visible in the other groups. The chart shows that the military orders and church members started at a similar rate, but from there on we see a dramatic increase of Latin names among church members, but not in the orders. The nobility also shows a steady increase, and after the middle of the 13th century the rates of Latin names in the nobility and the church are very close. Fig. 19 shows the test designed to verify whether it was only John who was responsible for the difference between the nobility and the orders: the chart shows that the evolution in Latin names in the Frankish nobility was robust, even with John disregarded.

The evolution of saints' names, plotted in Fig. 20, shows analogous trends. The bold black line shows the frequencies in the military orders, here again with an inconspicuous trend, while the three other groups display a marked increase. It should be noted, however, that among the nobility the rates are, as expected, lower than among non-nobles.

With regard to the differences in the use of by-names (Fig. 21), both the nobility and the military orders show a constant increase in the diffusion of by-names, but the rates rise higher among the nobility, reaching over 80% in the second half of the 13th

⁶⁹ J. Riley-Smith's suggestion. Naming younger sons was in general less restricted by dynastic considerations, and therefore would have reflected faster changes in fashions and first-name preferences. It should also be kept in mind that the naming patterns of both the clergy and the military orders are non-hereditary.

⁷⁰ See note 58 above. Also C. Clark, *WNH*, p. 109: In the subsidy rolls of 1292 England John was stronger among the lowest-assessed group, which, according to Clark "might seem to call in question the supposed general principal that name fashions start among the great and then get taken up by the humbler folk a generation or two later".

Figure 18 Evolution of Latin names by social groups

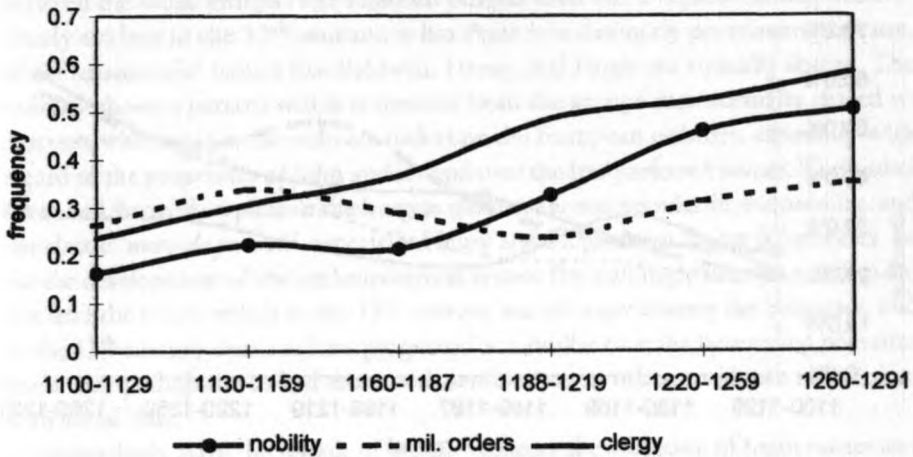
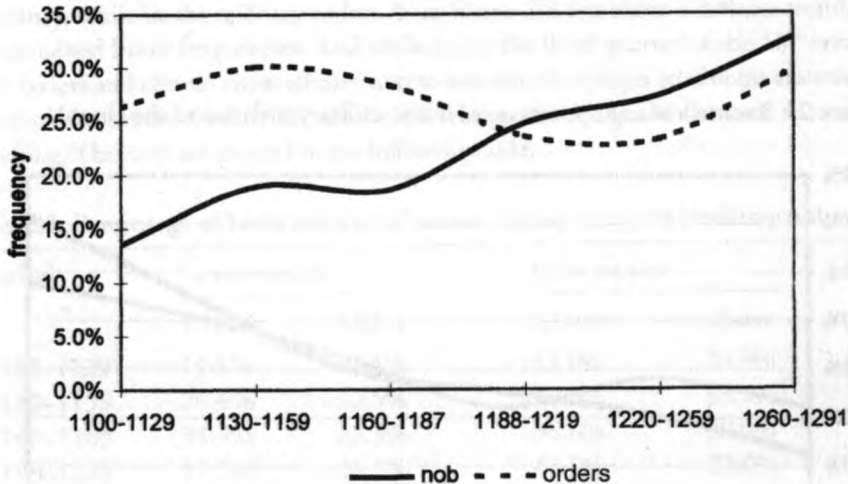


Figure 19 Evolution of Latin names by groups (without John)



century. Yet the pattern of these two groups is similar – that is, the anthroponymic system developed analogously, and this similarity in fact highlights the difference in the name choices, discussed above. The burgesses shared this pattern as well (Fig. 21), but conclusions on this group should be treated with caution because of the small numbers and uneven chronological distribution. The group with the weakest development of by-names was the church members, as it was in Catholic Europe⁷¹.

⁷¹ Bourin and Chareille, "Conclusion", *GMAMII-1 (L'Anthroponymie des clercs)*, pp.153-157.

Figure 20 Evolution of saints' names by group

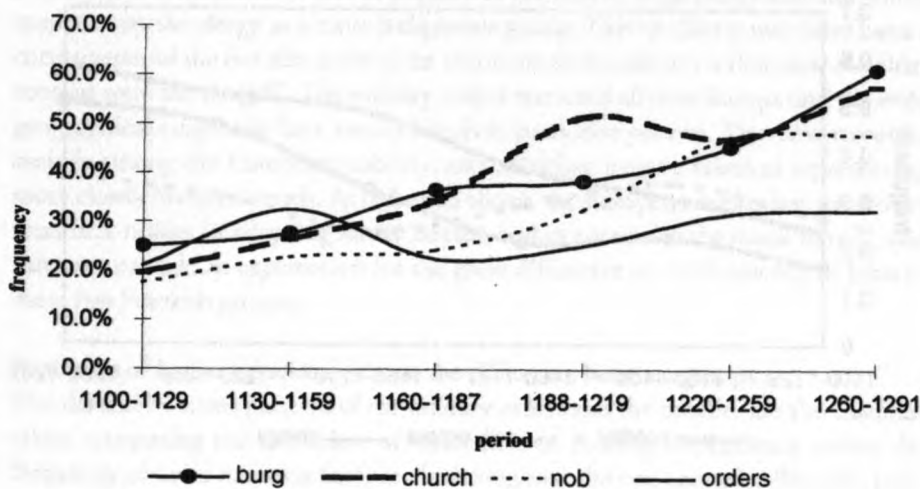
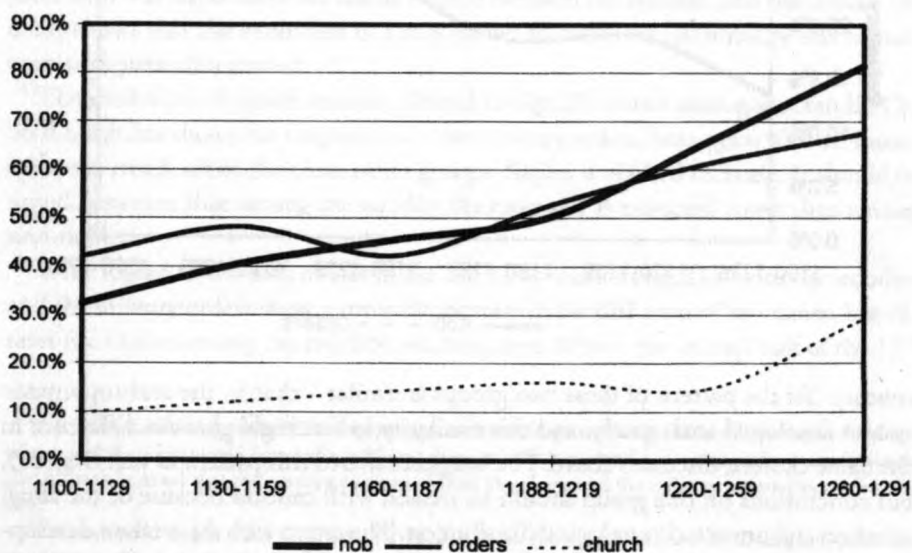


Figure 21 Increase of use by-names: nobility, military orders and the church



In conclusion, the name preferences appear to reflect the significant differences between the social groups. The Frankish burgess class had a typical naming pattern, clearly evident in the 12th century: it has Peter in a distinctly prominent position, while 'aristocratic' names like Baldwin, Henry and Hugh are virtually absent. The nobility shows a pattern which is distinct from the groups that normally shared its descent, whether it is the military orders or the European nobility, especially with regard to the propensity of John and its lead over the less-preferred names. The names Peter and Bernard, typical of the burgess pattern are not popular in the nobility, and the classic '*noms de pouvoir*', especially Henry and Hugh, keep higher frequencies. As for the development of the anthroponymic system (by-naming), here the nobility did not lead the trend, which in the 12th century was stronger among the burgesses, and in the 13th century seems to have progressed at a similar rate; the by-naming phenomenon may perhaps be linked more with semi-urban or urban residence rather than with social class.

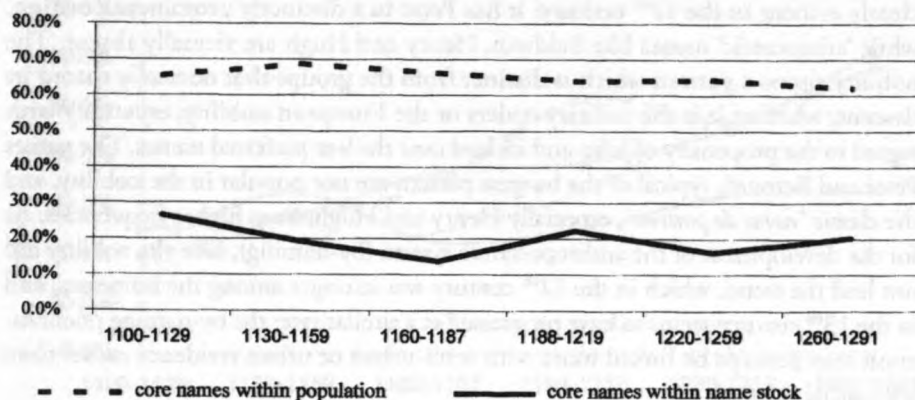
Interestingly, until the middle of the 12th century the evolution of Latin names and saints' names in the four groups seems quite similar (Figs. 18, 20), but from then on the more 'Frankish' classes diverged from the orders: the frequency of Latin and saints' names in the clergy, the nobility and burgess class continued to rise in the 13th century, while in the military orders these forms did not show a definite trend and maintained lower frequencies. And while up to the third quarter of the 12th century the orders and church show affinity to one another, they begin to diverge towards the end of the century, with the rates in the clergy climbing and those of the orders sinking. The rates are plotted in the following table:

Fig. 22: Percentage of Latin and saints' names among clergy and military orders

Period	Saints' names		Latin names	
	<i>Church</i>	<i>Orders</i>	<i>Church</i>	<i>Orders</i>
1100-1129	19.5%	21.1%	23.6%	26.3%
1130-1159	26.4%	32.5%	30.7%	33.7%
1160-1189	34.4%	22.5%	36.6%	28.9%
1190-1219	51.5%	25.2%	48.5%	23.6%
1220-1259	47.1%	31.7%	52.4%	31.2%
1260-1291	57.7%	32.4%	58.3%	35.1%

Also, while the nobility had initially a less 'Christian' naming-pattern than the orders (i.e. started at a lower rate of 17.6% compared to 21.1%), it eventually arrived at the high rate of 48% saints' names, while in the military orders the contemporary (and maximal) rate was 32.4%, the difference portraying the nobility as a distinctly more indigenous group.

Figure 23 Proportion of 'core names' within the population and within the name-stock



2.c. Evolution of the name-stock: stability and turnover

'Core names'

Approximately one quarter of the names that appeared during the first years of the Latin Kingdom (49 out of 185 names) remained in use in the Frankish name stock until the fall of Acre in 1291. These names from the beginning of the 12th century form a group of dominant 'core names' - a group of names that were used throughout the existence of the kingdom, by approximately two-thirds (4034 of 6174 individuals) of the population⁷². And despite the fact that these names account for varying proportions within the name stock itself, they hold a consistent proportion of the population (Fig.23).

These names seem to represent the favourite names that were used repeatedly by the Frankish population over the years in study. They present both high preponderance and high survival rate, and perhaps may be regarded as names of the 'founding fathers' of the kingdom.

The main trends that were observed in the naming patterns of the Frankish population as a whole manifest themselves strongly within the population that holds the core names: the preponderance of the names of Latin origin rises steadily from 23% to 51%, at the expense of Germanic names, which decline steadily from 76% to 41% over the period. The increased use of the saints' names included in this group (13 out of 49) is also marked, rising from 21% to 53%.

⁷² This group of names represents between 62%-69% of the population in any given period, and also represents around 70% of the people in each of the four social groups along the 200 years: 71%, 69%, 71% and 67% of the nobility, church members, burghers and military orders correspondingly hold these 49 names.

These findings show that the portion of the population that holds the 49 core names is the main player in the field of the major evolutions of the Frankish name structure: they all occur within this group, and the rest of the names show less robust trends.

It is also noticeable that most of the people who carry the core names are relatively well-identified in the records (by a by-name or other marker). This may perhaps suggest that the scribes made a special effort to identify those people who carry the more common names, or that these people were already well known to them.

Concerning the statistical indexes discussed above, let us recall that the condensation levels in the Latin Kingdom (both in raw data and in even sampling) did not undergo major changes. Surprisingly though, in the late 13th century the condensation rate seems to slightly decrease while the concentration rate increases⁷³. This seems to imply the existence of a group which held the concentration levels high despite the fact that there are more names in circulation, as indicated by the condensation level. And indeed, the concentration level within the group of by-name holders, which is naturally higher than in the whole study population, significantly did rise from 35.6% at the beginning of the 12th century to 47.0% at the end of the 13th century⁷⁴. Compared with Catholic Europe, in the Frankish Kingdom there are more names in circulation, and an almost constant influx of new names – but there was also a core group which upheld a stable concentration of name choices.

Another noteworthy finding concerning the holders of core names is that they possess by-names more frequently than the general study population⁷⁵. Since, as noted above, the concentration among holders of core names was high and increased throughout the study period, this finding would seem to support the correlation between an increase in homonymity and the preponderance of by-names (discussed above in section 1.e.).

⁷³ This is evident when comparing the 2nd with the 5th periods – which have the same condensation index but a different number of people, and also when comparing the 4th period with the 6th, which have the same number of people but the 6th period is less dense. See Fig.7.

⁷⁴ The concentration rates within the core-name group, for the six periods, are: 35.6%; 37.6%; 40.0%; 36.5%; 47.0%; and 47.0%. That these rates are higher than the general concentration level (Fig.1) is no surprise, since the core names are in general more frequent. However, they do show a clear trend, which corresponds to the trend in western Europe.

⁷⁵ The frequencies are as follows, by periods:

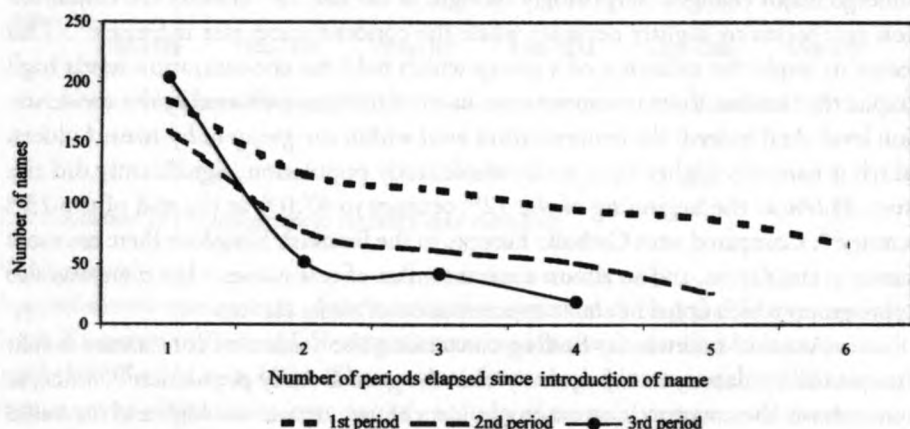
Holders of by-names in:	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5	Period 6
Core-name holders	43.7%	66.3%	58.7%	66.9%	69.6%	68.1%
Study population	40.2%	51.6%	49.8%	56.8%	60.9%	62.1%

Turnover and stability

While these core names present high stability and tight patterns, the majority of the names in the name stock exhibit far less stability and a fast turnover. In other words, most of the names do not get rooted but disappear within one generation, creating a highly dynamic name-stock.

Fig. 24 describes the survival of names introduced into the Frankish East in 1100–1187: It shows what happened to the use of new names introduced in the first three periods of the study.

Figure 24 Survival of names introduced in the Frankish East 1100–1187

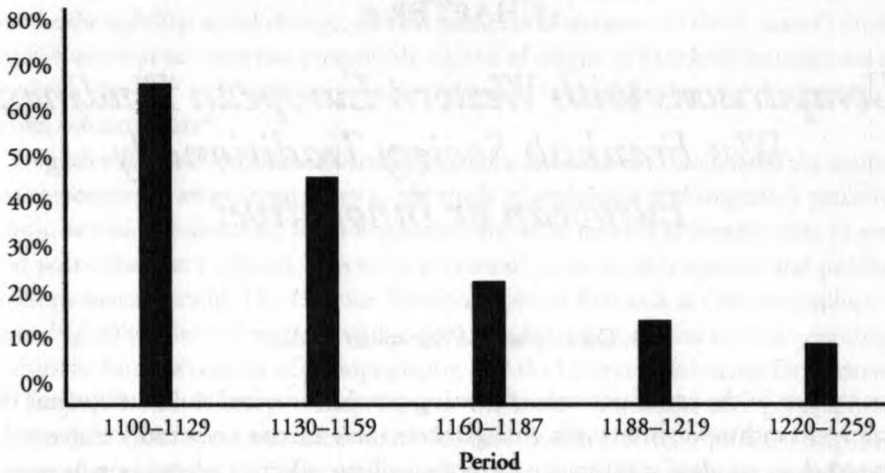


In the first period (1100–1129), 185 names were introduced. By 1130–1159 (second period) – 124 of them were still in use. Thereafter the trend line exhibits relative stability. This means that these names prove resilient, and remain a steady component in the name-stock throughout the two centuries.

However, the trend lines show a sharp decline in the use of the names entered in the next periods. For example out of 204 names introduced in the 3rd period, only 52 (25%) survived one generation. These names, therefore, entered the name stock only for a short period and did not 'catch on', they disappeared faster than did those of the first cohort. Most of the names that disappeared, in the 3rd period for example, are predictably not saints' names, e.g. Mansus, Seherius, Silvius and Gazellus, but some saints' names did make a fleeting appearance in the name stock, for instance, Ambrosius and Valentinus.

Out of the 883 male names in the Frankish names stock, 465 names (53%) were names that survived only one generation, and new names were becoming increasingly more ephemeral in the name stock as we proceed into the 13th century (Fig. 25). The

Figure 25 Percentage of new names lasting at least 2 periods



new names that lasted a generation or two show, in general, the same trends observed in the general stock, only they are far less robust. Among the saints' names in this low-survival group are non-central saints' names, like Adalbert, Remy, Hilary; these have a low frequency, which underscores the dominance of the central saints' names.

The low survival rate of more than half of the names in the name stock indicates that the new names do not, by and large, hold the key to understanding the main developments of the Frankish naming patterns, but they may be used, perhaps, to test more 'trendy' fashions.

As of now, the dynamic turnover of the Frankish name stock cannot be compared with survival and turnover rates in Catholic Europe, as such tests have not yet been reported in European studies. This characteristic, however, would be likely to be looked for in dynamic and more socially or ethnically heterogeneous communities – i.e. in comparatively large cities such as medieval London or Paris.

CHAPTER 4

Comparisons with Western European Findings: Was Frankish Society Traditionally European or Innovative?

1. Description of European studies

The interest in the actual patterns of naming practices inspired the development of systematic anthroponymic tools, though these tools are not universally employed. Nevertheless, standard quantitative methods facilitate effective comparison between sources of data that differ considerably in their richness and in their chronological and social distribution.

In this chapter I use for comparison those methods, presented in the previous chapter, that have been developed by the GMAM group in the universities of Tours and Paris. These methods have been employed for studies conducted in France, Italy, and to a lesser extent in Spain and Germany.

Following the survey of current research projects in anthroponymy in chapter 1, outlined below are the major findings of these projects and their suitability for the purposes of comparison with the database of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The German *Nomen et Gens* project, operated by a group of historians and linguists, has developed (since the late 1960s) the *Database for Research on Medieval Persons and Groups (DMP)*, to study the onomastic interface between personal names and the names of early Germanic peoples, and to examine whether there was a particular nomenclature for each of the early medieval *gentes*. However, since it focuses on early medieval Catholic Europe this project is not very useful for comparisons with the Frankish society in the East. A regional study of Franconian nobility in the high Middle Ages, focussed on names and social change, was conducted within the GMAM project¹. Local social studies within the Empire sometimes refer to naming as one of the indirect indicators of social and constitutional change; these studies offer meaningful insights on the functions of naming, but not detailed statistical inventories².

¹ D. Geuenich, W. Haubrichs, J. Jarnut, *Nomen et Gens* (Berlin, 1997); J. Morsel, "Changements anthroponymiques et sociogénèse de la noblesse en Franconie à la fin du Moyen Âge", *GMAM III*, 1995, pp. 89-119.

² See John Freed, "Medieval German Social History: Generalization and Particularism", *Central European History* 25 (1992), pp. 1-26, and reference to studies by G. Tellenbach and K. Schmidt therein, on

Another region studied within the GMAM project is the Iberian Peninsula. The studies were conducted with various foci: genealogical patterns of first-name transmission in the nobility, social change, and the addition of second and third names³. Some studies attempt to trace the geographic region of origin of Frankish immigrants to Spain in the 11th -13th centuries, who took part in establishing the demographic urban infrastructure⁴.

English name studies follow diverse approaches and methods. In many of the studies anthroponymy is often an auxiliary to the study of settlement and migration patterns, ethnic or national divisions, socio-linguistics and socio-economic stratification in pre- and post-conquest England. Two main centres of name studies operate and publish findings systematically: The Unit for Prosopographical Research at Oxford conducts a genealogically-oriented research with a dual emphasis on onomastics and genealogy within the broader context of prosopography, and the Leicester University Department of English Local History, which focuses on socio-onomastic and geographical approaches. Extensive onomastic research has been conducted from the socio-linguistic perspective, mainly by C. Clark, whose studies offer, in addition to essays on the socio-economic dynamics of naming patterns, penetrating discussion of methodological principles. Reports of English anthroponymic studies lack a standard form, and the analysis is typically grounded in the examination of regional patterns and traditions.

Name studies in Italy, as in France, are currently dominated by the approaches formulated by *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie moderne*. The École Française de Rome published numerous studies, in three collections. The studies document evolutions similar to those seen in France: the contraction and Christianization of the first-name stock, and the fixation of a by-name and the appearance of the surname – mainly between 950-1250. The Italian research framework corresponds with the French, with some modifications. The Italian studies focus on the double-element system, or genealogy, or discrete groups (landed and urban aristocracy, burgess, rural population, female/ male patterns etc.) and on naming as a mechanism of social differentiation; all investigated within a regional setting.

The wide regional variation found in Italy is ascribed to the differential impact of concurrent cultural and linguistic traditions, Lombard, Roman-Byzantine, Greek and the possible connections between changes in naming practices and changes in family consciousness, formation of patrilineal lineages and the establishment of territorial lordships in the Frankish-Germanic sphere.

³ R. Durand, "Trois siècles de dénomination aristocratique portugaise d'après la littérature généalogique", *GMAM* III, 1995, pp. 43-54; P. Martínez Sopena (ed.), *Antroponimia y sociedad. Sistemas de identificación hispano-cristianos en los siglos IX a XIII* (Valladolid, 1995); id., "L'anthroponymie de l'Espagne chrétienne entre le IX^e et le XII^e siècle", in *L'anthroponymie. Document de l'histoire sociale des mondes méditerranéens médiévaux. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'Ecole Française de Rome* (Rome, 1996), pp. 63-85.

⁴ P. García Mouton, "Los franceses en Aragón (siglos XI-III)", *Archivo de filología aragonesa* 26-27 (1980), pp. 7-98, and references therein. The study finds that most of the Frankish settlers (in Jaca, Huesca, Zaragoza) came from nearby areas across the Pyrenees. Yet, the identification of Frankish immigrants by toponymic bynames is problematic.

Muslim, that influenced both the content and the structure of regional name stocks. Additionally, different traditions have developed in the urban communes, in the Papal State and in Sicily. Research has also shown that the early medieval 'Germanic revolution' in name-giving during and after the invasion period affected Italy less than other parts (especially northern) of Catholic Europe; Latin names not only persisted in higher proportions in Italy, but fresh Latin forms (and Latin-Germanic hybrids) were being forged before and after the end of the first millennium⁵.

Many of the studies conducted in Catholic Europe are based on small data sets, and the vagaries of smaller samples should be remembered, especially in comparison with the database of over 6,000 individuals in the Latin Kingdom. A few large European databases stand out: the study of Poitou⁶, which stops at 1200; the Limousin with about 12,000 individuals in the 11th-12th centuries⁷, the Paris tax rolls of 1292 and subsequent years, which begin at the end of this study's period (the approximate numbers for the male population in Paris are: 1292 n=12,400; 1296: n=5026; 1297: n=8850; 1298: n=8500; 1299: n=9850; 1300: n=9900⁸); the *Libro di Montaperti* name-base of the year 1260 with 6203 individuals, and other smaller Italian studies⁹. In England, the Subsidy Roll of 1292 is the only compiled extensive database, but it too comes only at the end of this study's period. The total of London taxpayers in 1292 is n=1600-1700 and in 1319: n= 1820¹⁰.

The aim of this chapter is to examine, by means of comparison with European findings, whether naming patterns in the Latin Kingdom were unique or not, and which European trends became rooted in the Levant and which did not. While a broad comparative perspective is aimed at, the limitations of any such comparison should be borne in mind, as "no two samples are truly comparable"¹¹, due to the randomness and different sizes of the samples, incidental inclusion or exclusion of female name forms, and to natural demographic and naming-patterns constant fluctuations.

2. Detailed comparisons

2.a. Typological categories

The process of transformation of the European name-stock from mainly Germanic to mainly Latin and Christian occurred all over Catholic Europe between 1100 and

⁵ S. Wilson, *The Means of Naming* (London, 1998), pp. 67-69.

⁶ The study covers the 9th to 12th centuries. From 1000 to 1200 it constitutes about 2690 individuals. See G.T. Beech, "Les noms de personne poitevins", *Revue internationale d'onomastique*, 26 (1974) pp. 81-100.

⁷ L. Perouas, *Léonard, Marie, Jean et les autres* (Paris, 1984).

⁸ See Michaëlsson, *Études sur les noms de personne français* (Uppsala, 1927).

⁹ O. Brattö, *Studi di antroponomia fiorentina. Il libro di Montaperti (1260)* (Göteborg, 1953). Studies of Rome, Emilia and Genoa use name bases of 2797, 2417 and 1660 individuals correspondingly, over a course of time (this relates only to time-spans that fall within the period of this study).

¹⁰ E. Ekwall, *Two Early London Subsidy Rolls* (Lund, 1951).

¹¹ C. Clark, "Onomastics", in *The Cambridge History of the English Language (CHEL)*, vol. II, p. 547.

1300. It took different rhythms in the different regions and socio-economic spheres, but the trend was definite. It is interesting that the growing preference of certain names that occurred in the general name-stock in the 11th-13th centuries was already discernible within the Germanic name-stock that overcame Western Europe toward the end of the first millennium. As the original Germanic dialects had become incomprehensible and replaced by Romance dialects in regions of Western Europe, many of the original Germanic names became vague or meaningless, a phenomenon that may help to explain why their circulation declined. The Germanic names that survived were those that acquired a certain socio-cultural significance, e.g. Conrad and Henry in Germany. Some of these Germanic names took over Gallicized or Latinized forms (e.g. *Wil-helm* – Guillaume, *Rad-wulf* – Raoul / Ralph, *Hrod-gari* – Roger and *Amal-(a)suintha* – Melisende), forms which betrayed the process by which these name-compounds became lexically obsolete. The result was a loss of vitality of the Germanic name-stock (and of the loss of the ability to create new names), a decrease in the variety of names, growing concentration on preferred names, and increasing homonymity¹² – all this began to happen even before the content of the name stock began to transform into an increasingly Latin and Christian one.

The processes of decrease in Germanic names, and increase in Latin and Christian names, in general, may not be necessarily antithetical, as changes in preferences also occurred within each stock. Some Germanic names in the Western name-stock declined faster than others, (e.g. Gilbert, Norman, Everard), and in England Anglo-Saxon personal names on the whole disappeared rapidly toward 1200¹³; fluctuations also occurred within the Latin and Christian name-stock: some names declined e.g. Donadeus, Paganus, David and Manasses, and other names gained popularity, e.g. Simon and Thomas.

In the Levant the process of transformation of the Frankish stock of names from mainly Germanic to mainly Latin paralleled the European trends: names of Latin origin consistently gained currency, and the use of Germanic names declined. Anywhere in Catholic Europe before 1050 Germanic names accounted for 70%-85% of the population¹⁴, and this rate is reflected in the share of 76% Germanic names in the Frankish Kingdom in the years 1100-1130. The decline that started in Catholic Europe around the middle of the 11th century is reflected in the East in the fast drop in Germanic names to 66% within a generation, i.e. in 1130-1159 (Fig.12). In the decade between 1250-1260 the rates of Latin and Germanic names were identical,

¹² In areas where Germanic dialects continued to be spoken, at least partly, after 1000, the process of the stagnation of the Germanic name-stock was slower. See J. Jarnut, "Avant l'an mil", *L'Anthroponymie. Document de l'histoire sociale*, pp. 15-17.

¹³ C. Clark, "Willelmus rex? Vel alius Willelmus?", in *WNH*, pp. 280-281. Among the Anglo-Saxon names, as among the Germanic names in general, names sanctified by distinguished bearers, like Alfred and Aldhelm, did survive.

¹⁴ M. Bourin, "France du Midi", p.186-187.

and from then on the majority of the population bore Latin names. Within the Germanic stock itself, choices grew slightly more concentrated, indicating that a few Germanic names maintained their prestige at the expense of others which were forsaken. Also, not only the proportion of holders of Germanic names decreased but the percentage of Germanic names within the general name-stock gradually decreased as well, suggesting a certain rigidity of the Germanic stock¹⁵.

The growing popularity of Latin names is evident both from the fact that an increasing number of people carried them, and from the fact that the number of Latin names in circulation was essentially constant until 1260, when it began a moderate rise (Figs. 12-13). In other words, the evolution occurred not in the number of names but in their popularity and frequency of application. When looking into the dynamics within the Latin name-pool itself, it appears that, within it, the concentration decreased slightly but significantly over time¹⁶, indicating a use of a little wider variety of Latin names.

Comparative data for the proportion of Germanic-Latin names are available in France and Italy. In Poitou, Languedoc and Limousin in the middle of the 12th century, the proportions of individuals with Germanic names are similar to the Frankish Kingdom, and in Limousin and Burgundy the intersection of trends (i.e. equal rates of Germanic and Latin names) occurred around or slightly after the middle of the 13th century, as it did in the Frankish Kingdom. Concerning the evolution in France, studies suggest that the reason for the decline of Germanic names is the same everywhere: the increase in names of religious significance¹⁷.

In fact, the correspondence between these two evolutions – the decline in Germanic names and the rise of Christian/ saints' names, makes the regional comparison more telling. Data available in the northern Italian region of Emilia show that the significant drop in Germanic names occurred in that region in the course of the 11th century, earlier than in other studied regions. Yet, the proportion of names that were neither Germanic nor Christian – i.e. Latin names without religious significance – increased during the 11th century through 1250, when the study ended. This may mean that the Germanic names were not abandoned only in favour of Christian names¹⁸ (a category that, it should be borne in mind, is broader than the saints' names category), but also in favour of Latin names of no religious significance (e.g. Bonussenior, Oliverius, Rubeus – which appear occasionally among the dominant Emilian names between 1100-1220).

¹⁵ Concentration rates (for the 10 most dominant names) for Germanic names only, increase from 43.6% to 50% over the 200-year period (with a moderately significant trend). The decreasing popularity of Germanic choices is manifested as well in the list of top names: out of the 10 top names in the beginning of the 12th century – 9 were Germanic; in the end of the 13th century only 4 out of 10 were Germanic.

¹⁶ The trend is statistically significant, yet the slope of the decrease is modest.

¹⁷ M. Bourin, "France du Midi", p.186-187; P. Beck, "Évolution des formes anthroponymiques en Bourgogne (900-1280), *GMAMI* (1990), pp. 61-85.

¹⁸ See Guyotjeanin, "L'onomastique émilienne", table 13, p.114.

In the Frankish Kingdom, however, the process of decline in Germanic names and the increase in hagionymy seem to be closely linked. The Latin names that rise in the last two periods at the expense of Germanic ones are the names of central saints (James, Philip, Nicholas, and Thomas).

The proportion of saints' names *within* the Latin name-stock over the six periods fluctuates between 84.0% and 94.1%¹⁹. These proportions show two phenomena: the initial ratio between saints' names and Latin names was high (86%), i.e. there was a small proportion of Latin/non-religious names to begin with, and the high ratio remained essentially constant, and even slightly increased. Compared with the example of Emilia cited above, where the available category 'non-Germanic and non-Christian names' was on the rise, the shift from Germanic directly to saints' names in the Frankish Kingdom is meaningful.

Rates of saints' names are available also for Genoa, the Limousin and Languedoc²⁰:

The rates reported in this table for both the Frankish Kingdom and Genoa refer to saints' names, while the data for Limousin and Languedoc refer to 'Christian names', a wider category, which includes also theophoric names²¹ as well as biblical names (e.g. Amadeus, Christianus and Eleazar). Another impediment to the comparison are the large data gaps for the European regions. Against the systematic rise in saints' names in the Frankish Kingdom, the evolution in the other regions can only be cautiously inferred, especially when comparing with 'Christian names' rather than to the more restricted category of 'saints' names'.

The process of increase in saints' names in the regions plotted in Fig. 26 seems, however, evident. In addition, the comparison with Genoa shows a higher rate of hagionymy in the Frankish Kingdom at the end of the 12th century, while at the end of the 13th century the rates are equal (it should be mentioned that beyond the

Figure 26 Comparison of saints' names and 'Christian names'

Frankish Kingdom (Saints' names)		Genoa (Saints' names)		Limousin (<i>'Christian names'</i>)		Languedoc (<i>'Christian names'</i>)	
1100-1129	18.4%			1100-1130	26.6%	1101-1150	24.7%
1130-1159	25.0%						
1160-1189	30.2%					1151-1173	27.5%
1190-1219	35.4%	1188	20.1%				
1220-1259	43.3%			'13th century'		57.0%	
1260-1291	47.1%	1261	47.7%				

¹⁹ The rates for the six periods are: 86.0%; 84.0%; 87.9%; 94.1%; 90.3%; 87.8%.

²⁰ Genoa: Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis*, pp. 98-101. Limousin: Perouas, *Léonard, Marie, Jean et les autres*, p. 43; Barrière, "l'Anthroponymie en Limousin", *GMAM* I (1990) pp.23-34. Languedoc: Biget, "L'évolution des noms de baptême en Languedoc", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 17 (1982), 297-341.

²¹ On theophoric names see M. Mitterauer, *Ahnen und Heilige*, pp. 89-90.

chronological limit of the table, the share of saints' names in Genoa continued to rise to around 70% in the end of the 14th century). In France, the rates of Christian names in Limousin and Languedoc seem similar to those found in the Frankish Kingdom, and any variation must have resulted also from the wider category used in these studies (i.e. 'Christian names').

In England, the Norman conquest marked, *inter alia*, the beginning of a distinct onomastic change. The Norman and other Continental names brought into Britain by the new immigrants did not increase the variety of the names in current usage, but largely displaced the pre-conquest Anglo-Saxon repertory, and more markedly so in the capital, for which detailed records are available²². In addition, the English onomastic behaviour during the 11th-12th centuries displayed the general European tendency to concentrate increasingly on a preferred selection of names, while relinquishing rarer Germanic forms. The process was fast, and the transformation was evident by 1200²³. And in England too, as in France, the name repertory was transformed into a more Christian one: this tendency could have been independently insular, but was more likely part of the Continental influence. Hence we find in the 12th century, and increasingly towards its end, fathers bearing Anglo-Saxon names with sons bearing names of religious significance, e.g. *Nicholas son of Algar* or *Jordan son of Algod*. The Winchester surveys that provide information for 1110-1207 indicate that imported Continental names²⁴ accounted for a stable proportion of about 50%-60% of the name stock, and that names of Christian connotation rose from 4% to over 30%²⁵. Findings from Canterbury show that while in 1160-1170 Christian names accounted for a third of the name-stock, but only for a quarter of name applications, in 1200 Christian names accounted for about third of both the name-stock and the name applications²⁶. Old Anglo-Saxon names that survived the transformation were predictably those associated with widely venerated saints, like Edward and Edmund.

The available data for English localities are plotted in Fig. 27. Here again, with the exception of the Latin Kingdom, the frequencies represent Christian names and not saints' names, and the information is quite sporadic. The rising trend is evident, but the available data are too spread out and therefore do not allow for a meaningful comparison.

²² E. Ekwall, *Early London Personal Names*, p.90.

²³ C. Clark, "Willelmus rex? Vel alius Willelmus?", *WNH*, pp. 280-281; id., "Early Personal Names of King's Lynn: Baptismal Names", in *WNH*, p. 244; id., "People and Languages in Post-Conquest Canterbury", *WNH*, p.187; M. T. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers, 1066-1272* (Oxford, 1983) pp. 56-61.

²⁴ The distinction between Anglo-Saxon and Continental names is mainly geographic: both largely consist of Germanic names. The Continental category denotes specifically the West Germanic branches, including Norman, Picard, Flemish, Breton, and other name forms. However, by the time of the Norman conquest, Continental names also included Latin name forms of Scriptural and Christian reference, whose popularity was greater on the Continent than in England in the 11th century. See Clark, *CHEL*, p.558.

²⁵ O. von Feilitzen, "The Personal Names and Bynames of the Winton Domesday". In *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. M. Biddle (Oxford, 1976), pp. 185-190.

²⁶ C. Clark, "Onomastics", *CHEL*, p. 561.

Figure 27 Saints' names and "Christian names": Frankish Kingdom and England

Frankish Kingdom		Winchester		Canterbury		Leicester	
1100-1129	18.4%	1110	4%				
1130-1159	25.0%						
1160-1189	30.2%			1165	25%	1170	18%
1190-1219	35.4%	1207	30%	1200	30%	1200	25%
1220-1259	43.3%						
1260-1291	47.1%						

The present documentation allows for a clear description of the evolution of hagionymy in the Frankish Kingdom: its early rise and progress are evident, while the frequencies of Christian names in Catholic Europe are more often than not lower than those found in the Frankish Kingdom, and seem to suggest a later evolution and often on a lower scale in Catholic Europe.

The saints' names that actuated the rise in hagionymy in the Frankish Kingdom were names of central saints of Christianity; five apostolic saints: Peter, John, James, Philip, Thomas, as well as Nicholas – a saint widely venerated in the Eastern Mediterranean from the early middle ages and later on in Western Europe. Three of these names – John, Nicholas and James – were steadily on the rise in the Frankish Kingdom²⁷, Peter kept a constant popularity throughout, and Philip and Thomas ascended to the ten most popular names by the middle of the 13th century, along with Henry and Hugo, names that had acquired saintly significance by this period.

No two "top-5" or even "top-3" lists of most dominant names are identical in 13th century Catholic Europe²⁸. By contrast, the durability of the same three names (John, Peter and William, with a few changes in ranking) at the peak of popularity for about a century-and-a-half in the Frankish Kingdom stands out very clearly. These leading three apart, we see that in the first quarter of the 13th century the remainder of the list of the ten leading names underwent a change: five names, all Germanic, dropped from it (Ralph, Raymond, Godfrey, Baldwin and Robert). Over the second half of the century James, Philip and Nicholas gained entry to the top ten²⁹, and two other Germanic names dropped from the list, Gerald and Walter, to be replaced by Thomas and Guy³⁰.

What can be gleaned from these specific name preferences when compared to the trends current in other parts of Catholic Europe?

John was the most popular name in the Frankish Levant for a century, from the

²⁷ See discussion in chapter 3 above.

²⁸ See Fig. 28 for lists of the ten leading names in the Latin Kingdom and in Europe.

²⁹ The other two are Henry, at this period already considered a saint, and Gerald, with a lower frequency.

³⁰ Guy also possessed a saintly connotation, being the name of three 11th century saints (two Italians: Guy of Ravenna and Guy of Gherardesca, and a Fleming, Guy of Anderlecht).

1190s to 1291. Notwithstanding, the name made its major leap in popularity around 1230 (Fig. 2), when its frequency doubled. Its frequencies for the three chronological periods over the 13th century are 6.3%, 12.9% and 10.9%.

In Italy, while wide regional variation existed in the selection of preferred names, John ranked within the six most favoured names throughout the 13th century in the reported studies. The name ranked first in several north-Italian localities: in the region of Emilia in 1216-1250 with about 11% (it ranked 2nd until 1190)³¹, in the towns of Padua (Veneto) in 1254 (c.8%) and Monselice (Veneto) from 1250 (7.5%). In Rome, the capital of Catholic Christendom, John was, perforce, the most dominant name from 980 to 1250³², (and probably onwards) with unparalleled frequency rates of 16%-20%. In Tuscany and Milan in the middle of the 13th century John ranked 2nd - 5th with about 3%-3.5% frequency.

In Genoa John ascended to the top in 1327³³. In the Veneto area (excluding Venice) John rose significantly during the 12th century and was the most popular of the Christian names³⁴.

In France, up to the last decade of the 12th century, John made sporadic appearances as the 5th and 6th most common name in two northern localities: Noyers and Vendôme.³⁵ In Vendôme John is found at the top in the 13th century³⁶. In Poitou the name ranked 3rd in 1150-1175 (2.2%) and 6th in 1175-1200 (0.8%). However, in most regions during most of the 12th century, the name was not even the most preferred among the names defined as Christian³⁷. In Agde (Languedoc), until 1220, John was not among the most dominant names³⁸, in Toulouse it still ranked only 4th in 1335³⁹, and in Brittany John was not among the top five names at least up until 1280⁴⁰.

The significant increase in the popularity of John in France occurred in the course of the 13th century. More specifically, the dominance of John (and its derivations, e.g. Jehannot, Janequin) emerged after 1250⁴¹, and it indeed became the most common

³¹ O. Guyotjeanin, "L'onomastique Émilienne", *MEFRM* 106 (1994), pp. 411, 413.

³² Together with Peter, who followed second, both names covered about one-third of the male population throughout this period. See É. Hubert, "Évolution générale de l'anthroponymie masculine à Rome", *MEFRM* 106 (1994), p. 580.

³³ Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis*, pp. 98-99.

³⁴ Explicit numbers for the 12th century are unavailable. In the middle of the 13th century and decisively at the turn of the 14th, John was the most preferred name in the region, closely followed by Peter. See S. Bortolami, "Il sistema onomastico in una 'quasi città' del Veneto medioevale", *MEFRM* 106 (1994), p. 360 and appendix.

³⁵ M. Bourin, "France du Midi et France du Nord", p. 198 (summary table); also pp.187-188 on the general higher preference of the name in the Midi than in the northern regions.

³⁶ D. Barthelemy, Vendômois: le système anthroponymique, *GMAMI*, p. 49.

³⁷ B. Barrière, "L'anthroponymie en Limousin", *GMAMI*, p. 30.

³⁸ M. Bourin, "Les formes anthroponymiques et leur évolution d'après les données du Cartulaire du Chapitre Cathédral d'Agde", *GMAMI*, p. 186; Also *GMAMII*, p.124.

³⁹ Preceded by Peter, William and Raymond. See Biget, "Languedoc", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 17, p. 322.

⁴⁰ A. Chedeville, "L'anthroponymie bretonne", *GMAMII-2*, p.18.

⁴¹ J-L. Biget, "Languedoc", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 17, pp. 318, 332.

Fig. 28 Leading names in various European locations and in the Latin Kingdom

<i>Genoa</i>			<i>Monselice</i>	<i>Padua</i>	<i>Emilia</i>			<i>Rome</i>		<i>Montaperti</i>
1188	1251	1261	1250	1254	1176-1190	1216-1220	1236-1250	1190-1220	1220-1250	1260
William	William	William	John	John	Peter	John	John	John	John	James
Obertus	James	James	Peter	Albert	John	James	Gerard	Peter	Peter	John
John	Henry	Simon	Albert	James	Albert	Peter	Peter	Nicholas	Nicholas	Guy
Ansaldus	John	Nicholas	Dominic	Henry	Gerard	Guy	Albert	Roman	James	Bencivenni
Henry	Nicholas	John	Gerard	Bartholomew	Guy	Albert	James	Cencius	Angelus	Ugo
Lanfranc		Lanfranc	James	Dominic	Hugh	Gerard	Guy			
Rubaldus		Henry	Martin	Gerard	Ubaldu	Martin	Bartholomew			
Albert		Obertus	Guido	Andrew	Martin	Gandulf	William			
Otto		Peter	Frugerus	Martin	Guibert	Hugh	Roland			
Hugh		Paschal	Henry		Bernard	Guibert	Bernard			

<i>Milan</i>	<i>Siena</i>	<i>Chieri</i>	<i>Poitou</i>	<i>Paris</i>	<i>Vendôme</i>	<i>Agde</i>
1266	1260	1289	1200	1290's	13th	1190-1220
James	Bonaventura	James	William	John	John	Peter
Peter	Guido	William	Peter	William	William	Bernard
William	James	Peter	Geoffrey	Peter	Geoffrey	William
Albert	John	Oddo	Raynald	Robert	Hugh	Raymond
John	Rayner	Ubert	Walter	Nicholas	Philip	Pons
		John	John			
		Guy				
		Bertus				
		Henry				
		Boniface				

Figure 28 continued

Latin Kingdom

1100–1129		1130–1159		1160–1187		1188–1219		1220–1259		1260–1291	
William	6.4%	Peter	7.0%	Peter	7.0%	John	6.3%	John	12.9%	John	10.9%
Peter	5.3%	William	7.0%	William	6.0%	Peter	6.1%	William	6.4%	William	6.2%
Hugh	4.8%	John	4.4%	John	5.8%	William	5.9%	Peter	4.5%	Peter	5.1%
Gerard	3.7%	Gerard	4.0%	Hugh	3.8%	Ralph	3.0%	Hugh	3.4%	James	4.6%
Robert	3.7%	Robert	3.4%	Bernard	3.6%	Raymond	2.2%	Henry	3.2%	Nicholas	2.9%
Ralph	2.7%	Walter	3.1%	Raymond	2.9%	Geoffrey	2.1%	James	2.7%	Hugh	2.4%
Geoffrey	2.5%	Hugh	3.1%	Stephen	2.5%	Hugh	2.1%	Gerard	2.4%	Thomas	2.4%
Raymond	2.5%	Stephen	3.1%	Reynald	2.4%	Simon	2.1%	Walter	1.9%	Guido	2.2%
Walter	2.3%	Geoffrey	2.8%	Robert	2.3%	Baldwin	2.0%	Philip	1.9%	Henry	2.2%
Baldwin	2.1%	Ralph	2.8%	Gerard	2.2%	Robert	1.8%	Nicholas	1.8%	Philip	2.0%

name among residents of Paris in the 1290s, with 18%-20% share of the male population.

In England the frequencies of John were lower than on the continent. The name held about 1% of occurrences in 1100 and in 1148, and rose to about 5% in 1207 in the Winchester Surveys, and about 5% in 1200 at Canterbury (after William with 14% and Robert with 9%). Among the rural population of the Bury St. Edmunds estates, John was absent from the list of popular names in 1100, then counted among the five commonest names in 1190⁴².

In the 1290s John became by far the most frequent name among London taxpayers and its frequency increased in the beginning of the 14th century. In the lay subsidy roll of 1291 John held a frequency of 17.6% (followed by William with 14.4%)⁴³. The rolls indicate that in 1292 John was stronger among people with lower income, who may have been on average a younger group, and this may place the popularity of John in a comparatively early step of its evolution⁴⁴.

It is noteworthy that in the cities of Rome (c.1250), Paris (1292) and London (1292) – major urban centres – the frequencies of John are all above 15% of the population, an unparalleled high rate, and with a meaningful lead over the second most common name.

While John was becoming increasingly popular all over Catholic Europe in the 13th century, there seems to be a correlation between the intensity of the preference of John and the geographical distance of the European regions from the Levant. The closest affinity with the Frankish Kingdom is found in the Italian rankings of John, and this affinity, especially with northern Italy, is also manifest in the rate of John's lead over the second most common name. In the Frankish Kingdom John led over William by 100% in 1220-1259 and by 60% in 1260-1291. In Emilia in 1250 John led by 70% over Gerard, in Padua in 1250 by 62% over Peter, and in Monselice in 1250 by 50% over Peter. The only comparable lead ratio in France (i.e. over 50% at least) is found in Paris in the 1290s where John led by 80%-90% over William. In other, roughly contemporary (c.1250), available lists of most dominant names in which John is *not* the leading name the lead of the first most dominant name over the second is only about 20%, or smaller.

The name-givers in the Frankish Kingdom were certainly among the leaders in the great European vogue of John. The preference of John over other names is notable, and in seldom around Catholic Europe John seems to have been installed at the top earlier than it did in the Frankish Kingdom (Fig. 29). The example of Rome, where this trend definitely preceded the Frankish Kingdom, and where hagionymy had been very strong for a long time, sheds a peculiar light on the propensities of the Franks.

⁴² Clark, *CHEL*, p. 561.

⁴³ John was followed by William, Robert, Richard and Thomas. An interesting feature of the list is the position of Peter, at the 16th place with 1.4% frequency. See Ekwall, *Subsidy Rolls*, p. 35.

⁴⁴ Clark, "Socio-Economic Status and Individual Identity", *WNH*, pp.108-109.

Figure 29 Ascendancy of John to first rank: comparative table

Region	John ranking 1st in:
Rome	1100–
Latin Kingdom	1130–1159; 1190–
Emilia	1216–
Burgundy	1221–1250
Monselice	1250
Padua	1254
Vendôme	"13th century"
Paris	1292–
London	1292–
Genoa	1327–

The presence of James and Nicholas among the most popular names in the Frankish Kingdom lends the list its 'Italian' or rather 'eastern Mediterranean' accent, with a well-ensconced tradition of veneration in Byzantium and higher frequencies in Italy⁴⁵. In the Frankish Kingdom, these two names ranked 11th (James) and 20th (Nicholas) in the fourth period, 6th and 10th in the fifth period, and 4th and 5th toward the end of the 13th century.

James, ascending in the Frankish Kingdom from 6th (2.7%) to 4th (4.6%) place in the second half of the 13th century, appeared among the top names of the 13th century only in Italy. And in Italy, it ranked higher in urban centres: 1st in Chieri (Piedmont) in 1289 (10.4%), 1st (6.3%) in Milan in 1266, 2nd in Genoa in 1251 and 1261 (c. 8.0%), and 3rd (4.0%) in Siena in 1260. In the semi-urban regions of Emilia and Veneto, it ranked 5th in Emilia around 1250 and 6th in the Veneto in 1250. In Rome, where more than elsewhere the top of the list is occupied densely with saints, James came 4th in c.1250, after John, Peter and Nicholas.

In comparison, in 1290s Paris James ranked 11th, in London in 1292 it ranked 38th; in both cities the name was on the rise towards the next available data set, but did not enter the top five.

A similar picture emerges with regards to Nicholas, a name that also appears as a 13th century urban phenomenon. In the Frankish Kingdom it ascended between 1250–1280 from 10th to 5th rank, with 2%–3% frequency. In the second half of the 13th century Nicholas ranked among the leading names — and was the third-most popular saint — in these big cities: Genoa, Rome, and Paris. In Genoa it ranked 5th and 4th with about 6% in 1251–1261; in Rome, it ranked 3rd in 1250 with 6.8% frequency. Nicholas was a 'newcomer' saint in western Europe. The name's popularity was prodded by the Catholic church rather than mounting through popular

⁴⁵ See chapter 3 above, section 1.a.

reverence⁴⁶, and we find the name ranking 5th with just over 4% frequency in Paris in the 1290s. Apart from Paris at the end of the century, the name did not occur within the leading names in France, nor in any other studied regions in Italy. In England Nicholas ranked 18th in 1292 with 1% frequency (and rose to 11th place in 1319)⁴⁷. As was the case with John, James and Nicholas also show a closer affinity in pattern to the studied regions in Italy, than to other, westward regions of Europe.

Philip, an apostolic saint's name, leaped in the Frankish Kingdom from the 18th to the 9th and then to the 8th place around 1250. The name was very rare among leading names in Catholic Europe. In France Philip probably won no special popularity on account of being a Capetian royal name⁴⁸. It appeared among the leading names in 13th century Vendôme with 7% frequency, and ranked 18th (0.8%) in Paris in 1291 (and rose to the 17th place in 1313). In London 1292 Philip was in 22nd (0.7%) place (and rose to 19th in 1319).

Thomas, another apostolic saint, also ranked among the top ten names in the Frankish Kingdom, in the last years of the kingdom's existence; it held a frequency of 2.4%, at the 6th place. Like Philip, Thomas is a latecomer saint in Catholic Europe⁴⁹, except in England, where it was a popular from the middle of the 12th century⁵⁰ and it grew more common owing to the martyrdom of Thomas Becket in 1170 (canonized in 1173). It became one of the five most popular names in England in the 14th century⁵¹. In France Thomas is not found among the leading names in the available studies, except for Paris in the 1290s, with the same rank and frequency as in the Frankish Kingdom⁵².

⁴⁶ M. Mitterauer, *Ahnen und Heilige*, pp. 280-281.

⁴⁷ E. Ekwall, *Subsidy Rolls*, p. 34-36. For earlier appearances in England it is suggested that both James and Nicholas (along with other Christian names) may represent influence from the Low Countries, see Clark, "King's Lynn" in *WNH*, p. 254.

⁴⁸ M. Mitterauer, *Ahnen und Heilige*, p.257.

⁴⁹ Thomas, along with John, Peter, Simon and Stephen were more popular in Normandy than in England in the pre-conquest period, though even in Normandy they were more typical of the clergy rather than of other social groups. See Clark, *CHEL*, p. 558. The name is not found among the leading names in available Italian studies; however, J. Richard, in commenting on the Italian origins of the Ibelin family, suggested that Thomas (son of Baldwin of Ibelin-Ramlah who died before his father) was a name more frequent in Italy than in France in the 12th century; J. Richard, "Guy D'Ibelin, O.P., évêque de Limassol et l'inventaire de ses biens (1367)", in: id., *Les relations entre l'Orient et l'Occident au Moyen Age* (Variorum Reprints, London, 1977).

⁵⁰ Clark, "King's Lynn" in *WNH*, p.252-4; Mitterauer, *Ahnen und Heilige*, p.250.

⁵¹ Along with William, Robert, Richard and John. Those five names accounted for about 80% of males in 1372/6. See Mitterauer, p. 251. The currency of Thomas in England is manifested also in the use of "Tom" for "anyone", e.g. in Shakespeare's *Love's Labor's Lost* (1595, act 5/II) and in the (disapproving) idiom "Every Tom, Dick and Harry" (Thomas, Richard and Henry), dated 1815.

⁵² In comparing the Latin Kingdom and Europe, the name of the archangel Michael should also be mentioned, although not ranking among the top names. It started to rise around 1300 in western Europe (ranking 21st in London in 1292 and in 1319; and in Paris ranking 19th in 1292 and 18th in 1313), and it became one of the most popular patron-saints' names in early-modern and modern Europe. In the Latin Kingdom Michael began to rise moderately from around 1200 (ranking 26th) to the end of the 13th

A few evolutions in the naming patterns of the Frankish society stand out from the middle of the 13th century. The names that rose in the Frankish Kingdom were names of central saints, and these names replaced, within the leading names, declining Germanic names not associated with strong religious meaning. Was there a possible influence of eastern-Christian naming fashions?

These names – John, Peter, James, Nicholas, Philip and Thomas – were more popular within the Eastern Christian name repertory than they were in Catholic Europe, though they featured in Catholic repertories of the 11th–13th centuries in much lower degrees. The rise of the name John, especially, in the Latin Kingdom, was strong and significant, and its dominance predated many of the European reported patterns. The lead of John over the succeeding dominant names in the Frankish Kingdom was large, indicating a particular preference. This pattern may be ascribed partly to the influence of Oriental Christendom in the Mediterranean realm, where these names and particularly the wider tendencies they represent can be traced in the preceding centuries.

Examples of popular names in the Greek-speaking parts of Byzantium are cited sporadically in some studies. They provide scattered information that can hardly represent the wide ethnic, social and religious variety of patterns within the Byzantine Empire. A sample of 32 peasants' names from around 974 has Demetrios, Constantine and Basileios as the leading names. A survey of 108 aristocratic names from the 9th century *Chronicle* of Theophanes, referring to the years 670–820, shows Constantine, Niketas, John, Theodore and Stephen as the top five names, while its Continuation (to the 11th century) reveals Constantine, Leo, John, Andreas and Nicholas as the most frequent. In a 10th century list of 26 peasants the top names are: Michael, Peter, Leo, Romanos and Sergios⁵³. These preferred names are indeed different from the most popular and the rising names among the Franks (John, Peter, James, Nicholas), yet they manifest a certain religious orientation: they are all saints' names, mostly of apostles, martyrs and saints of ancient Mediterranean Christianity.

A more geographically-restricted examination of available onomastic lists in the area of Syria-Palestine seems to yield more focussed patterns.

Among the 21 Orthodox patriarchs of Jerusalem in the 9th to 11th centuries, 12 carry saints' names of a specific Syrian-Palestinian connotation: Elias, Euthymius, George, John, Joseph, Sergios, Sophronius, Symon, Theodosius, Theophilus,

century (ranking 17th). As was the case with Nicholas, another favourite patron saint, Michael's popularity may have originated in Byzantine influence, rather than from being the defender of Christian soldiers. However, on the particular Norman veneration of the archangel Michael as a substitute for Woden, see J.J.G. Alexander, *Norman Illumination at Mont St. Michel, 966–1100* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 85–100.

⁵³ Mitterauer, *Ahnen und Heilige*, pp. 123–124, 440 note 2; A.E. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire* (Princeton 1977), pp. 108–120 and E. Patlagean, "Les débuts d'une aristocratie byzantine et le témoignage de l'historiographie: système des noms et liens de parenté aux IX^e et X^e siècles", in M. Angold, ed., *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries* (Oxford 1984), pp. 26, 29.

Thomas, with John at the top of the list. Among 940 Jacobite⁵⁴ bishops in Syria-Palestine from the 6th–12th centuries John is the most frequent name with 18.8%, and the following nine names are Basil, Ignatius, Timothy, Athanasius, Gregory, Abraham, Jacob, Thomas, Sergius. All connote saints active in the Syria-Palestine area in the 1st–4th centuries, and five of these ten have Scriptural reference. Albeit being mostly consecration names⁵⁵, these name-choices implicitly constitute a paradigm that exhibits a preference of Early Christian saints and martyrs, Scriptural names, and a distinct preference for John⁵⁶.

The cultural and religious sphere in which these choices were made was a properly Syro-Palestinian one rather than Byzantine in general, as the churches of Syria-Palestine lived, after the Islamic conquest and especially after 750, in growing isolation from the Greek-speaking Byzantine world⁵⁷. This was a pattern that the Catholic settlers in Syria-Palestine came in contact with, through daily interaction in towns and villages and through mixed marriages between Frankish men and oriental-Christian women⁵⁸.

The names of the Oriental Christians, the *Suriani*, mentioned in the kingdom's acts, who lived under the Frankish rule in 1100–1291, also display the preference for central saints' names of Scriptural and Biblical reference. In a sample of 176 such names, the top five names are: George, John, Elias, Abraham, Peter and Isaac⁵⁹ (See table page 76).

⁵⁴ The Jacobites were the main representatives of the Monophysitism in Syria-Palestine, and the oriental sect whose condition improved with the Arab conquest, and who also, compared with the Greek-Orthodox churches, fared relatively well under the Franks and kept friendly relations with them. See J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), pp. 227–229, and Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility*, p. 88, pp. 270–271, note 215.

⁵⁵ The consecration names were frequently given *in lieu* of originally Arabic names which were common among the Christians of the East, as was the Arabic language in general. The names of the Jacobite bishops and patriarchs were scanned from J-B. Chabot, "Èvêques jacobites", *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 5 (1900) pp. 623–626. The Jerusalem patriarchs list is based on M. Levy-Rubin, *The Patriarchate of Jerusalem after the Arab Conquest* (Ph.D. thesis, Jerusalem, 1994), appendix.

⁵⁶ The names of Syro-Palestinian saints may also have contributed to the constitution of this paradigm: out of 33 Syro-Palestinian saints in the 6th–14th centuries, five were named John, and George, Simon and Theodore occurred twice each. See J.W. Nesbitt, "A Geographical and Chronological Guide to Greek Saints' Lives", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 35 (1969) pp. 443–489.

⁵⁷ J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 55–57; S. Griffith, "Stephen of Ramleh and the Christian Kerygma in Arabic in 9th century Palestine, in: idem, *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine* (Variorum reprints, London, 1992), p. 24.

⁵⁸ *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, (Heidelberg, 1913), book 3, ch. 37. On the relations between eastern Christians and the Latins see Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom*, and Kedar, "Latins and Oriental Christians in the Frankish Levant", in: *Sharing the Sacred. Religious Contacts and Conflicts in the Holy Land*, eds. A. Kofsky and G. G. Stroumsa (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 209–222.

⁵⁹ These names of scribes, interpreters, *rayes* and villagers were drawn from Röhrich's *RRH*, based mostly on the identifications in J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 225, n. 22; Kedar, "The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant", pp. 157–158, note 53; Riley-Smith, "Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria", *English Historical Review* 87 (1972), pp. 23–26.

Top five names

Rank	Name	Number	Frequency
1	George	21	11.9%
2	John	14	8.0%
3	Elias	11	6.3%
4	Abraham	9	5.1%
	Peter	9	5.1%
5	Isaac	6	3.4%

While biblical names as Elias, Abraham and Isaac were very rare in Catholic Europe (they appear rarely among monks and clergy⁶⁰), the names John and Peter did occur in Western European repertories before the 13th century, and these were the names, along with other relatively popular names – Jacob and Nicholas (ranking 6th and 7th in the same sample) – that won strengthened popularity among the Frankish name-givers⁶¹.

Two non-Latin Christian families seem to have merged to a certain degree into the Frankish society. The Arrabit family is of an obscure, probably non-western origin: the name appears in documents of the Mediterranean area in the 12th-13th centuries, often, but not always, denoting a non-indigenous person⁶². The head of the family, in the Frankish documents, is Muisse (Mussa) Arrabit, a man of Hugh of Ibelin in the middle of the 12th century. He had a son named George, and four grandchildren named Henry, Peter, John and Mary. While Muisse may sound like an Arabic name which could indicate a Muslim origin, Muisse's son George had a common oriental Christian name, and the grandchildren, John, Peter and Mary, received names that were both common among eastern Christians and familiar to Western ears, and

⁶⁰ M.-C. Fieve, M. Bourin, P. Chareille, "Designation de clercs et des laïcs en Tournai" *GMAM* II-1 (1992), p. 83, reports rare occurrences of such names, e.g. Abraham, Daniel, David, Moses, Samson and Solomon.

⁶¹ The name George deserves a special notice: being highly popular among Eastern Christians, its frequency among the Franks was very low (it never exceeded 0.7%) and underwent no significant evolution. In Latin Europe as well, the name began a slow progress only in the late Middle Ages; it ranked 4th (3.9%) in Genoa in 1368, and does not appear in earlier or contemporary western samples. It seems to have been popularly established, especially in England, only in the 18th century.

⁶² A. Stussi, "Provenzali a Venezia (1258-1268)", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 18/3 (1988), nos. 2, 9; G.B. Pellegrini, *Gli arabismi nelle lingue neolatine*. vol.1 (Brescia, 1972), pp. 228, 376; Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p.76, n.95; Pellegrini contends that the name definitely derives from 'arab', possibly with a Greek suffix; the name was common in Genoa and Sicily, but was not of Ligurian or Sicilian origin. The evidence seems to lessen the probability of a Muslim origin. On the Arrabit family in the Latin Kingdom, see J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Amsterdam, 1979), p. 141; Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility*, p. 10; A.V. Murray, "Ethnic identity in the crusader states: the Frankish Race and the Settlement of Outremer", in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, eds. S. Forde, L. Johnson and A. V. Murray (Leeds 1995), pp. 63-64. D. Jacoby, "Knightly Values and Class Consciousness" in idem, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Variorum reprints, London, 1989), p. 186, note 112.

Henry, a Frankish upper-class name, which may reveal the desire for, or the extent of, social adaptation. Another oriental family was that of Saliba, a Burgess of Acre, who dictated his will in 1264, bequeathing his wealth to the Hospital, to various churches, and to his relatives, listed in the will⁶³. Saliba (Aramaic/Arabic meaning 'the crucified') had a sister named Nayma (Arabic meaning 'pleasant'), a daughter-in-law named Isabella whose father's name was Stephen, a daughter named Katelina, and nephews named Leonardo, Thomasino, George, Nicholas, Bonaventura, Leonardinus, Isabellonus and Dominicus. There were other relatives: Saliba's brother Bedera (perhaps related to the Arabic Badr or Bedr), Saquisius (Sarkis, Armenian for Sergius), and Laurentius, and female relatives named Settedar (perhaps from Arabic⁶⁴), Vista, Caolfa and Agnes. The names of the nephews, which represent a younger generation, are mostly Latin/Italian-sounding names of Christian connotation. Three of them are popular Oriental Christian names (George and Nicholas and Thomas)⁶⁵.

The examination of Western European patterns suggests, in conclusion, that the naming pattern of the Frankish population followed the main lines and shared the significant evolutions that were dominant in contemporary Catholic Europe: a decline in Germanic names and a rise in Latin and saints' names, along with a growing disproportionate concentration on a few preferred names. However, the selection of the most preferred names among the Franks in the Levant – the prominence of saints' names, and the early and increasing prestige of central saints' names as John and Peter James, Nicholas, Philip and Thomas – indicates a certain uniqueness that may be ascribed to several contributing factors.

The affinity of the Frankish pattern with patterns found in Italian studies may raise the possibility of a shared influence of Eastern Christendom in the Mediterranean realm, where names of early saints and martyrs ranked among the most popular names, as well as the wider inclination toward saints' names in general which can be traced in the preceding centuries.

The more localized interaction of the Frankish settlers with the Syrian-Palestinian branches of Christianity may have produced an exposure to a more particular naming fashion, which stressed central and highly revered figures in Oriental Christian hagiology, often with a Palestinian connection. The adaptation seems to have occurred only in cases where the popular names in the East had already been somewhat current in western Europe, but not in cases where the names were rare in Latin Europe (e.g. Abraham, Isaac, Moses). On the other hand, the overall high popularity of William, a typical Latin name, testifies to how strong was the nexus with the West.

In other words, the Frankish name-givers duplicated neither the western nor the eastern practices, but drew their pattern from both, to create a model akin to the one

⁶³ *RRH* 1334 of 1264.

⁶⁴ A. Schimmel, *Islamic Names* (Edinburgh, 1989), p. 45.

⁶⁵ Delaville Le Roulx, vol. 3 pp. 91–92; J. Richard suggests a 'close association' between Saliba's native family and members of the Italian communes, *Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 358.

that developed in Western Europe sometime later, from the end of the 13th century onwards⁶⁶.

2.b. *Anthroponymic statistics*

The process of contraction of the name stock and growing preference of certain names was, as indicated above, already observable in western Europe around the year 1000. In the process, the following phenomena occurred: some names disappeared from circulation, the proportion of homonyms increased, and the proportion of names used once or twice decreased. These phenomena are documented in urban and rural areas in various regions of central and southern France. In Poitou, for example, the greatest variety of names is found in the middle of the 10th century, and thereon it declined⁶⁷. These tendencies became gradually more definitive in Catholic Europe, and they are observed in comparatively long-term studies based on data from specific, mostly rural localities.

These conditions are not entirely analogous with fluctuating demographic reality and the change in the pattern of settlement after the fall of the first Frankish kingdom in 1187, with the severe losses suffered by the Frankish nobility in the battle of Hattin, the merchant communes gaining more social and political influence, and the continuous influx of newcomers into the kingdom following the Third Crusade.

It would seem reasonable to compare the evolutions in the Frankish Kingdom with relatively dynamic demographic patterns, such as in big metropolitan areas, where patterns may be expected to be more dynamic. Yet, contemporary data are available only from Rome, a city that displays extreme patterns of name selection. The available data from Paris and London refer to a later date, and do not overlap with the period of this study. After Rome, then, the studies of semi-urban population in northern Italy may seem as the next best choice for comparison.

⁶⁶ The name patterns in other areas of Frankish settlement will be examined in a later stage. In a preliminary survey, the names of 100 craftsmen in Frankish Cyprus, documented in 1327-1330, were scanned. In this mixed group of native Cypriots, refugees from Frankish Acre and perhaps a few Westerners, George was the most dominant name with 14% frequency, followed by John with 11%, Simon 6%, Leo 5%, and William and James with 4% each. This is indeed a Frankish-Oriental medley, with the lead of George testifying, perhaps, to how 'oriental' the group is. See: J. Richard, *Documents chypriotes des archives du Vatican, 14e-15e siècles*, Paris, 1962, pp.39, 41-49. In 14th century documents of the Frankish principality of Morea in the Peloponnesian peninsula, John was the most popular name, with George and Peter as other most dominant names. See: J. Longnon and P. Topping, *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au 14e siècle* (Paris, 1969) appendix 1: "Noms de personne", by E. Topping; and D. Jacoby, "The Encounter of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnesus After the Fourth Crusade", *American Historical Review* 78 (1973) pp. 873-906.

⁶⁷ For a concise summary of these earlier findings in P. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance* (Princeton, 1994) pp. 73ff.

Figure 30 Comparative condensation rates (and rates in random sampling)

[illegible]

Figure 31 Comparative concentration rates by 12 most dominant names

	1100–1130	1130–1160	1160–1190	1190–1220	1220–1259	1260–1291
Latin Kingdom	40.0%	45.0%	42.0%	37.0%	45.0%	45.0%
Nîmes (Bas-Languedoc)	83.0%					
Maguelone (Bas-Languedoc)	57.0%	57.0%	66.0%			
Agde (Bas-Languedoc)	80.0%	84.0%	97.0%			
Lezat (Languedoc)	79.0%	85.0%	81.0%			
Auch (Gascogne)	77.0%	70.0%	80.0%			
Grenoble	43.0%	42.0%	51.0%			
Jumièges (Normandy)	70.0%	59.0%	62.0%	66.0%		
Noyers (Touraine)	40.0%	43.0%	53.0%			
Vendôme	44.0%	44.0%	67.0%			
Toul (Lorraine)	18.0%	25.0%				

Source: Bourin, "France du Midi", p. 185

Figure 32 Comparative concentration on the most dominant name

	1100–1130	1130–1160	1160–1190	1190–1220	1220–1259	1260–1291
Frankish Kingdom	6.4%	7.0%	7.0%	6.3%	12.9%	10.9%
Languedoc	17.0%					
Nîmes (Bas-Languedoc)	20.0%	21.0%				
Maguelone (Bas-Languedoc)	15.0%	19.0%	15.0%	15.0%		
Agde (Bas-Languedoc)	18.0%	20.0%	26.0%	21.0%		
Lezat (Languedoc)	14.0%		17.5%	16.5%		
Auch (Gascogne)	9.0%	9.0%	12.0%	18.0%		
Limousin	12.0%					
Grenoble	8.0%	12.0%				
Jumièges (Normandy)	14.0%	15.5%	14.0%			
Noyers (Touraine)	6.0%					
Paris						18.8%
Poitou	4.8%	3.7%	4.2%	5.7%		
Vendôme	8.0%					
Toul (Lorraine)	6.5%	9.0%				
Emilia	9.9%	7.2%	7.3%	11.4%	11.2%	
Genoa		15.7%	13.4%		9.9%	8.8%
Monselice (Veneto)					7.5%	6.3%
Rome	16.8%	16.7%	19.2%	20.3%	18.4%	
London						17.6%

Condensation

The condensation index indicates the number of names found in a group of 100 people; a higher index denotes more names in the group and therefore fewer homonyms. A lower index denotes fewer names in use per 100 people, therefore more homonyms. The trend in Catholic Europe was a decrease in the number of names used per 100 people and increasing homonymity. The European trend is not simple to track accurately, since it is visible in a straightforward manner only in groups of similar sizes (as indicated in chapter 3 above, the condensation index is sensitive to the sample size). We see, for example, that the condensation values in Burgundy in 1130-1280 gradually decreased as follows: 34; 29; 29; 24 and 18, and in Rome in 1100-1250 the measures are: 34; 27; 19; and 16 (see Fig. 30⁶⁸). Large differences between indexes of consecutive periods may be the consequence of differences in the size of the group.

The findings from the Frankish Kingdom do not comply with this general trend. No evolution is traceable in the raw data (i.e. the actual group sizes). When looking at the condensation index in the random even samples, especially in the sample of 500, which is the most robust, the level of condensation appears fairly stable throughout the study period. This may point to the special demographic composition of the Frankish society, which originally comprised groups of different ethnicity and local naming patterns, and also reflects perhaps a constant demographic and social flux that retained a relatively high number of names in circulation.

A higher condensation index (i.e. more names in circulation and fewer homonyms) may result from increased socio-cultural or ethnic diversity within the studied population, or from enhanced tendency towards creative and innovative name giving. Compared with most European localities the Frankish Kingdom shows higher condensation indexes. The exceptions are the northern Italian regions of Emilia and Monselice, and perhaps Genoa (see table). At least in the cases of Emilia and Monselice, the explanation may lie in the more frequent use in these regions of a category of names which is rare elsewhere: Latin names of no religious significance, nick-names and hypocoristic name-forms⁶⁹, and Latin nouns and adjectives which were used as augural or characterizing sobriquets (e.g. Bonusfilius, Refutatus). The sobriquets often denominate just a single person, and thus increase the name variety⁷⁰.

Such inventive name-giving was not shared by the Frankish name-givers, and this

⁶⁸ The figures for various regions were taken or calculated from European published studies, cited throughout this chapter.

⁶⁹ Hypocoristic forms of John in Italy, for example, include Vanni, Nanni, Ninni, Nanus, Zano, Ianitinus and Zaninus, to name just a few of the male forms. See S. Bortolami, "Il sistema onomastico in una quasi-città del Veneto medioevale" *MEFRM* 106 (1994) 353ff.

⁷⁰ The proportion of sobriquets in the Emilian name stock in 1140-1250 ranges between 18%-27%. See Guyotjeanin, "L'ononastique émilienne", *MEFRM* 106 (1994), pp. 396-399. On the greater variety of names as a characteristic of central-north Italian stocks see F. Menant, "L'Italie centro-septentrionale", in *L'Anthroponymie. Document de l'histoire sociale* (Rome, 1996), pp. 24-26.

suggests that while a similarity with the Italian patterns existed, it probably arose for a different reason – a greater socio-cultural variety and constant immigration.

When comparing condensation in raw European samples with the Frankish rates in the random even samples, the condensation levels for the Latin Kingdom seem to lie between the French and Italian ones⁷¹, suggesting a mixture of the two (or more) naming patterns. The possible impact of the popular names of the Christian East does not seem to have a significant role, since, as indicated above, the 'oriental' names that gained increased popularity among the Franks were only those names that had been known, but were used less frequently, in Catholic Europe.

Concentration

Concentration levels in Catholic Europe, from studies that provide long-term data, show a trend by which the choices of name-givers became increasingly confined to a small number of names.

The concentration levels are represented in Fig. 5 as the number of names that was used by 50% of the sample population. The numbers in Catholic Europe reflect a slow and gradual trend: the decrease in the number of names used by half of the population indicates that the same names were applied more times, and therefore that homonymy was growing.

In the Latin Kingdom the numbers do not show a parallel trend, as the index oscillates between the periods. This fluctuation may be a result of demographic changes, especially in the periods 1160-1189 and 1190-1219 – periods that cover a time of renewed crusading activity, and, in the aftermath of 1187, a steady flow of people from all parts of Western Europe. So the fluctuation may indicate an injection of new names from various origins into the name stock⁷².

The higher indexes in the Latin Kingdom, relative to other regions, are an indication of greater heterogeneity of naming practices. The difference between East and West is clearly visible when comparing the Latin Kingdom with the French concentration levels. The French data also show more clearly than other regions a process of measured and systematic increase in concentration. By contrast, such a clear trend of concentration cannot be traced in Italy, just as it could not be traced there with regard to the index of condensation

The measuring of concentration by the 12 most dominant names (= proportion of people carrying the 12 most frequent names), which is the measure used in most long-term French studies, also shows clearly a trend of increasing concentration (Fig. 31).

⁷¹ In England in the Bury St. Edmunds estate survey of about 1100 the condensation rate is 27, which corresponds to the Poitevine rate in the same period.

⁷² Also, the fluctuations are influenced by the higher indexes themselves: since higher indexes indicate a situation with fewer homonyms, any change within the name distribution would naturally resonate more boldly in this concentration statistic (the same phenomenon seems to occur in the Veneto, see Fig. 5).

In the Frankish Kingdom the trend of increasing concentration was only borderline-significant statistically, and the differences between the periods in the Latin Kingdom were insignificant, except for the difference between the 4th and 5th periods⁷³. The concentration rates in the Frankish Kingdom throughout the study period, then, do not settle on any robust trend such as that found in analogous studies in Western Europe.

As for the rates themselves, in the late 12th century the concentration rates for the 12 dominant names, as shown in Fig. 31, are lower in the Latin Kingdom than in the French samples. This difference is also generally the case for the concentration of the single top name alone (Fig. 32), yet in this measure, with data available also from Italy, the affinity to northern Italian regions is again visible.

The weak trend of increasing concentration and the relatively lower concentration rates compared with Europe draw a picture of a mixed and variegated name pool in the Frankish Kingdom. With no evidence of creative and inventive name giving this picture must reflect the pattern of a population whose naming practices originate from diverse sources, including the Levantine context. The data also seem to reflect the turmoil at the end of the 12th century: the fall of the first Crusader Kingdom, the impact of the third – and largest – crusade, and the realignment of the Second Kingdom.

Rare names

While the concentration statistic focuses on the preferred choices measuring the clustering at the top of the name distribution and the condensation index measures the average number of names in use in a given sample – there still remains the tail-end of the distribution to be described in more detail, as it is yet another aspect of the name distribution that may vary between population groups.

The statistic of 'rare names' zooms in on the tail of the distribution, which is composed of names used only a few times or just once in a selected chronological period⁷⁴. In studies conducted by the GMAM group the category of 'rare names' has been defined as the names occurring once only. These studies show that, over time, the proportion of the rare names in the different localities of western Europe diminished. The decrease in the proportion of rare names supplemented the trends of increasing concentration and increasing condensation in Western Europe. This three-fold evolution is documented in France and in Rome, especially in the 13th century, while in Emilia, expectedly, the tail did not diminish and continued to present high rates up to 1250, when the study ended⁷⁵.

⁷³ When the measure of concentration excludes the name John, even this borderline trend does not exist: see Chapter 3 above.

⁷⁴ See above in chapter 3, section 1.b.

⁷⁵ Burgundy: *GMAM* I, p. 85; Auch: *GMAM* I, p. 166; Agde: *GMAM* I, p. 207; Emilia: *MEFRM* 106, p. 408; Rome: *MEFRM* 106, p. 577. In 1100–1130 the rate of rare names in the Latin Kingdom was higher than anywhere documented in Western Europe, showing how different was the structure of the Frankish name stock in its outset. See table in appendix 1.

Since quoting rare names by the measure of the names that appear only once seems to yield results that are considerably sensitive to the size of the sample, an alternative measure was also used for the data of Frankish Kingdom: names whose frequency is half a percent or less in each chronological section. This measure, defined for the purpose of this study as of 'tail names' seems to allow for a more reliable analysis of the internal evolution of the Frankish name stock. Using this measure, we see the tail-name rates plotted in the following table:

Figure 33 Tail Names: Names with 0.5% Frequency or Less in the Latin Kingdom.

Period	1100-1129	1130-1159	1160-1189	1190-1219	1220-1259	1260-1291
People	565	1046	1772	766	1263	762
Names	185	250	363	220	303	242
'tail names'	145	208	327	182	272	213
% of names	79.4%	83%	90%	82%	89%	88%
% of people	31.9%	29.8%	36.7%	36%	36%	39.2%

The data show an increase in the proportion of tail names within the name stock from 83% to 90% in the 3rd period (1160-1189), a slide back to 82% in the 4th (1190-1219), and higher rates throughout the rest of the 13th century. This turnover correlates with the finding that over 70% of the new names introduced in the Latin Kingdom in the 3rd period lasted that period alone⁷⁶. The proportion of holders of tail names remained high throughout the period of study. It was higher in the 13th century than in the 12th, and even increased in the last decades of the kingdom's existence.

In addition to maintaining high levels, the tail of the distribution also exhibits a remarkable dynamism. About 40% of the names defined as 'tail names' were names that survived only one period in the study, and in every period about half of the tail names were new names entered into the name stock⁷⁷. This dynamism naturally undermined any persistent enlargement in the share of preferred names, or a contraction of the stock.

Both the size of the tail and its dynamism seem to underscore the dissimilarity between findings in Western Europe and the Latin Kingdom concerning the evolution of the name stock. The apparent orientation of most name patterns in Western Europe towards shrinkage of the name stock and increased concentration of choices was complemented by a growing disfavour of marginal names. In the Latin Kingdom

⁷⁶ See chapter 3, section 2.c.

⁷⁷ These measures refer to the tail only, composed of names with a frequency of 0.5% or lower. In every period, the tail gained new names that amounted to over half of its size, and in every period the tail lost about 55% of the names.

the tail names formed a vigorous and continually supplemented group, which neither stabilized nor diminished, and even grew in the 13th century.

The Frankish name stock appears to have been constructed of two major elements. The first component is the group of 'core names',⁷⁸ representing the favourite names that were repeated and transmitted consistently by approximately two-thirds of the Frankish population throughout the years in study; this group of names presents both high preponderance and a high survival rate. The second is a group of names that exhibits much less stability and rapid turnover – this is the tail of the distribution, which is very dynamic, especially in comparison with Europe. The tail is composed of names that lost favour and names that did not get rooted in the name-stock: qualifying, augural and theophoric names like Castus, Bastardus, Peccius, Buoncasa, Donadeus and Fortunus, names of non-favourite saints like Damian, Germanus and Silvester, rarer Germanic forms like Aerig, Erchembaldus and Winandus, and irregular names like Bonefrage, Oba, Parason and Normanduso.

The anthroponymic measures of condensation, concentration, core names and rare/ 'tail' names reveal important characteristics of the Frankish naming pattern. The society in *Outremer* had a more diverse name stock than its European counterparts: there were more names in circulation compared to Catholic Europe and an almost constant flux of new names; there was a core group of names with a tight concentration, and 'below' it a more diffuse group that kept turning over. In Western Europe the growing concentration and condensation may be partly explained by the gradual contraction of the rare names group, whose diminishing intensified the density of the stock. Such a process did not occur in the Frankish Kingdom where the tail did not decrease and therefore kept interfering with the potential, and almost universal, condensation and concentration observed in most Catholic European studies.

2.c. Comparison of social groups

Several European studies permit a glimpse into the naming patterns of the different social strata. The most documented group is frequently the nobility, but several studies focus on the Western European clergy, and in a few instances before 1300 the preferences of the non-nobles are revealed, whether burgesses or peasants.

Studies that provide a distinction of anthroponymic patterns by social differentiation often emphasize the cleavage between nobles and non-nobles. In 12th and 13th century western Europe the two social categories differ markedly in the preponderance of Latin names and saints' names: the proportion of Latin, saints' and theophoric names was higher among the non-nobles, and when the 'non-noble' group is specifically identified as peasantry, this group is likely to have the highest rates of Latin and saints' names, compared with either nobles or burgesses.

⁷⁸ See chapter 3, section 2.c., and Fig. 23.

A study focussed on the north Italian aristocracy shows that the nobility of Lombardy had, up to 1200, almost exclusively Germanic names, and this pattern differed profoundly from the non-noble one. In Bergamo (Lombardy), for example, only a third of the non-noble population had Germanic names in the 11th–12th centuries. A similar trend was found by O. Brattö in his comparison of the non-noble names of the *Libro de Montaperti* (1260) with lists of names of individuals from higher social strata (the *Ghibelins* and the *estimi*); in the higher social groups Germanic names were found to be much more common. The pattern was also documented by Kedar in Genoa and its countryside, in the 12th and 13th centuries, by Barrière in the Limousin, and by Cursente in the south of France⁷⁹.

Genealogical and anthroponymic studies note that noble naming practices were often obligatory because of dynastic dictates that linked the personal name with the inheritance (and later linked the by-name with inheritance). The personal name had a function of a dynastic signifier from the early Middle Ages, when even aristocratic families of Roman ancestry replaced the Latin onomastic pool with a Germanic one, and continued to use repeatedly a limited set of names. This function of the personal name presumably allowed less freedom of choice and for less flexibility in the act of name giving, and provided, therefore, a slower change or renewal in the onomastic patterns (but clearly some degree of freedom of choice was admitted, as it allowed the stock to ultimately change). The dynastic mechanism explains, at least partly, the longer endurance of Germanic names in noble families, and the slower substitution of Germanic names by Latin and saints' ones in the noble families⁸⁰.

Non-nobles, on the other hand, exhibited earlier the predilection for Latin and saints' names. With regard to the rural (non-noble) anthroponymic system, it should be noted that it is an area that still awaits further study; despite the peasantry's being the overwhelming majority of western European population, their practices are analyzed in only a few studies, and these sometimes indicate conflicting trends⁸¹. Yet,

⁷⁹ O. Brattö, *Studi di antroponimia fiorentina. Il Libro di Montaperti (1260)*, (Göteborg 1953); Kedar, "Noms de saints", pp. 439–442; Perouas, Barrière et al. *Léonard, Marie, Jean et les autres*, pp. 51, 54; B. Cursente, "Aspects de la révolution anthroponymique dans le Midi de la France" (début 11e–début 13e siècle), *L'anthroponymie. Document de l'histoire sociale*, pp. 41–62.

⁸⁰ F. Menant, "Les modes de dénomination de l'aristocratie italienne", *MEFRM* 107 (1995), p. 551–552; G. T. Beech, "Dévolution des noms et structure de la famille", *L'anthroponymie. Document de l'histoire sociale*, pp. 401–411.

⁸¹ For example, with reference to the period up to the 11th century, Wilson indicates that "Among the peasantry the switch to Germanic names was definitively much earlier" than among the elite, as exemplified, e.g. in the *Polyptyque* of Saint-Germain-des-Prés; however, in another register from this period, the list of serfs of the abbey of Saint-Victor in Marseilles the proportion of Latin/Germanic names was roughly even; see S. Wilson, *The Means of Naming* (London, 1998), pp. 66–67. Other studies emphasize that the non-free and the lowest strata in general were slow to adopt Germanic names in the first place, and displayed, up to the 13th century, a preference for Christian and Scriptural names, and for Latin names with no Christian meaning, like animal names and diminutive forms; see F. Menant, "L'anthroponymie du monde rural", in *L'anthroponymie. Document de l'histoire sociale*, pp. 356–360, and J. Jarnut, "Avant l'an mil", in *op. cit.* pp. 15–17, which emphasizes also large regional differences in the duration and intensity of

in his conclusion of the survey of findings and the state of research, F. Menant asserts that "peasant anthroponymy exists". The peasants, like the rest of Catholic society, used an increasingly narrowing stock of names, and their bent toward a few central saints' names increased steadily; peasants also added a by-name to the personal name, and shared the process of the fixation of an hereditary surname. Most studies show that in these evolutions the peasants lingered behind the burgesses, but rarely delayed after the nobility⁸². The *contadini* of the Genoese countryside exhibited also a certain onomastic conservatism compared with the citizens of Genoa proper: they continued to use some Germanic names that were already outmoded in the city⁸³.

Since both peasants and burgesses showed, in the 12th and especially the 13th century, a growing predisposition toward central saints' names, the phenomenon may be interpreted as an onomastic import coming with peasants migrating to the city⁸⁴, the impact of the city on its vicinity, or both. The influence of the urban onomastic practices on the surrounding areas increased throughout the 13th century as communications improved and as the number of cities grew. Nonetheless, urban centers, especially the big cities of Catholic Europe, emerge as the sources of innovation in anthroponymic behavior, whose modes and fashions radiated into the semi-urban and rural areas. Clark observes that after the Norman conquest, new name-fashions caught on earlier and spread faster in the towns⁸⁵. Findings in central and northern Italy and in Languedoc also show that in the bigger cities anthroponymic patterns changed earlier and more rapidly. Findings surveyed or calculated for the purpose of this study (Fig.30) show invariably that the contraction of the name stock, which is reflected in the condensation index, was stronger in the larger metropolitan areas⁸⁶. The personal-name phenomena of preference of central saints' names, the contraction of the name stock, and the gradual increase in the concentration of choices were interlocked, and they are strongly manifest in the studies of London, Paris, Toulouse, Genoa and Rome, especially from around 1300 and onwards. They may be ascribed to the size and density of the population in the city, to a rapid imitation mechanism, and to the changing modes of naming by young adults venturing into urban centres in the 12th and 13th centuries, who were less confined by traditional and family conventions, and who were also likely to form new types of material and spiritual alliances, which played a role in naming.

the Germanization process. The process is relevant to this study as it evokes the question of whether the rural population changed drastically its onomastic behavior in the course of the 12th and 13th centuries, or simply showed an increased devotion to age-old practices.

⁸² Menant, "L'anthroponymie du monde rural", pp. 351-351,362.

⁸³ Kedar, "Noms de saints", p.444. The conservatism of the peasantry was also noted in an earlier period in England, when the post-conquest peasant population clung to traditional Anglo-Saxon personal names, see C. Clark, "Willelmus rex? Vel alius Willelmus?", in *WNH*, p. 281, 284 n. 22.

⁸⁴ Kedar, "Noms de saints", p.444.

⁸⁵ Clark, *CHEL*, p.558.

⁸⁶ E. Hubert, "Structures urbaines et système anthroponymique" in *L'Anthroponymie. Document de l'histoire sociale*, pp.313-325.

This last factor perhaps played a role also after migration to the Holy Land. For some crusaders settling in the East it may have provided an opportunity to break away from Western onomastic traditions, a process that was enhanced by intermarriage with Oriental Christians, Byzantines and Armenians. The structure of Frankish society itself differed from the Western European social structure, since in the Latin Kingdom the non-noble Catholic segment consisted only of people legally defined as burgesses, despite being, in part, peasants in origin who could have come from rural settlements in Europe. And, particularly after 1187, most of the population, noble and not, dwelled in the towns – mainly Acre, Antioch, Tripoli and Tyre.

Compared with the Western European nobility, the nobility of the Latin Kingdom was less attached to its Germanic names. The nobility showed a continuous increase in preference for Latin names throughout the study period, and after the middle of the 13th century the rates of Latin names in the nobility were very close to the higher rates among the clergy⁸⁷. As for rates of saints' names, among the nobility they are as may be expected lower than among non-nobles, but the Frankish nobility was still more prone to naming after saints than was its western European counterpart. The point is illustrated in the occurrence of John. The preponderance of the name was a central marker of the difference in the frequency of saints' names between nobles and non-nobles in Catholic Europe. While the name's popularity was rising among all social strata, it rose more notably among non-nobles, as is shown in several studies. Brattö found in his study of the *Libro de Montaperti* that John was a more popular name among non-nobles⁸⁸, and Menant, surveying studies of the Italian aristocracy in the 12th-13th centuries, showed that John (and Peter), which were very common in the general population – together they held 30% frequency, and were absent from the aristocratic name-stock⁸⁹. The phenomenon is also documented in London in 1292 among the younger and less affluent⁹⁰.

In the Latin Kingdom, the high frequency of John within the nobility is conspicuous, compared both with aristocratic samples in Catholic Europe and to the non-noble population in the Frankish Kingdom: it peaked to 18.6% in the middle of the 13th century and had double the frequency among nobles as among burgess⁹¹. The major leap in the name's frequency among Frankish nobles corresponded with the leap in the frequency of saints' names in this group. It also corresponded with the

⁸⁷ See chapter 3 above, section 2.b.

⁸⁸ O. Brattö, *Studi di antroponomia fiorentina. Il Libro di Montaperti (1260)*, (Göteborg 1953).

⁸⁹ F. Menant "Les modes de dénomination de l'aristocratie italienne", *MEFRM* 107 (1995), pp. 551-552.

⁹⁰ Clark, "Socio-Economic Status and Individual Identity", in *WNH*, p.109.

⁹¹ See also M.-A. Nielen-Vandevorde, "Et le tiers avoit le nom Gui come son pere'. Quelques remarques sur l'attribution des noms, prénoms et surnoms parmi les familles nobles de l'Orient Latin", paper presented at the International Medieval Congress, Kalamazoo, 1995, p. 4. The study counts the popular names among the Frankish great families of the *Lignages d'Outremer* showing John as the most popular name with 100 occurrences over 1000 individuals mentioned, and followed by Hugo with 51 occurrences.

increase in the usage of by-names, which in itself reveals, again, the fine line between nobles and burgesses – the nobility did not introduce the trend in by-naming, but shared with the rest of the lay population a comparable evolution.

The clergy of the Latin Kingdom carried, as indicated above, a diversified variety of names. In western Europe, the clergy did not display a unique or universal pattern, and usually shared the naming preferences of the lay population. Studies of the clergy in five regions of France in the 11th–13th centuries found that the popular clerics' names were indistinguishable from the rest of the population in a given region. In Rome and Genoa clerics shared the same trends as the general population: in Rome, in 950–1200 Di Carpegna Falconieri found no difference between the secular and clerical names – not in the names choices nor in the frequencies; the dominant names among clerics were John and Peter, just as among lay population. In Genoa some minor nuances were found by Birolini: a slightly higher usage of Christian names and lower usage of augural names among the clergy. In 12th–14th century Sicily, Germanic names were prevalent among clerics just as they were among the laity⁹². In the Latin Kingdom the rates of saints' names among the clergy were slightly higher than those of the nobility (Fig. 20), but the name John ranked among the top three names already from 1130–1159 and remained there throughout the study period, an ascent that seems to predate comparable samples in France, and to correspond with the slightly higher rate of John among Genoese clerics (compared with the laity), and is considerably lower than the frequency of John among Roman clerics⁹³.

The name fashions of nobles and non-nobles in the Latin Kingdom seem to differ from one another less than do the fashions of nobles and non-nobles in Catholic Europe. Particularly, the naming pattern of the Frankish nobility did not adhere to that of the western nobility: it had more in common with both the patterns of the non-nobles of the Kingdom and, it appears, with the patterns of the non-nobles (and non-peasants) in Europe. This seemingly exposes the makeup of the nobility of *Outremer*, whose majority had not come from the highest dynasties of Europe, but rather mostly from the lower ranks of the nobility and from the non-nobility, as did the prominent Ibelin family⁹⁴. Surveying the available studies on European names, we

⁹² France: M. Bourin and P. Chareille, "Pour les clercs: les mêmes noms mais un système de designation différent", *GMAM* II-1, 1992, pp. 147–157. Rome: T. Di Carpegna Falconieri, "L'antroponomastica del clero di Roma" *MEFRM* 107 (1995), pp. 527–531. Genoa: A. Birolini, "Étude d'anthroponymie génoise", *MEFRM* 107 (1995), pp. 471–472. Sicily: M. L. Gangemi, "L'evoluzione antroponimica a Catania e Paternò" *MEFRM* 107 (1995), pp. 406–407. Most of these studies contend that the evidence counters the possibility of predestination of infants to ecclesiastical vocation, and of the re-nomination of clerics.

⁹³ France: *L'anthroponymie des clecs*, *GMAM* II-1, 1992, passim; Genoa: Birolini, pp. 471–472; Rome: Di Carpegna Falconieri, p. 526.

⁹⁴ There is a possibility, however, that the Ibelins were related through their ancestor Balian (Barisan), constable of Jaffa, to the noble family of Le Puiset, and if so their origins were not so humble. The relation is discussed by J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 172–173. Arguably, Balian the Old was rather well-connected in the Latin Kingdom for a man of modest descent, and the mention of the name Guilin in the Ibelins' pedigree in the *Lignages d'Outremer* may provide a basis for an ancestral

note that the pattern of the Latin Kingdom is most comparable with the findings from central-northern Italy. It may be speculated that this similarity ensues from the fact that the central-northern Italian studies focus on urban and semi-urban population, while French studies are mostly based on rural cartularies. This would seem to give further support to the notion that the naming practices of the kingdom – with their diversity, dynamism and distinct stride toward the Christianization of the name stock – lean toward urban (but not metropolitan) European practices, as most members of both the nobility and non-nobility of the kingdom shared an urban residence.

connection with the Le Puisets, among whom the name Guilin/Gilduin was common. I tend to agree with La Monte, who discusses the matter in length and concludes that “there can be no certain affirmation of any connection and the probabilities are against any such relationship”. See J.L. La Monte, “The Lords of Le Puiset on the Crusade”, *Speculum* 17 (1942), p. 118. The Ibelins’ pedigree is in *Les Lignages d’Outremer*, RHC Lois 2, p.448. It should also be noted that in one of the *Lignages* manuscripts (Marciana Ms Francesi 20 (265)) the pedigree reads: “Balian le Franois fu frere au conte *Guillaumin* de Chartres” (as will be shown in the edition of the *Lignages* prepared by M-A. Nielen). Despite the fact that *Guil(l)in* may be a variant of *Guillaume*, this reference would seem to make the *Lignages* less credible.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

This chapter will recapitulate the main findings and conclusions from the analysis of the naming patterns of the Franks of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, focusing on four topics: the evolution of typological categories – Latin/Germanic and saints' names, the anthroponymic indexes, the preferred names, as well as the tentative findings on the evolution of by-names.

The decline in preference of Germanic names and the growing popularity of Latin names in the Frankish name stock is a phenomenon that significantly emerges from the data analysis. In about 1260 the rates of Latin and Germanic names in the Frankish name stock were equal, and from then on Latin names constituted the greater part of the stock, but it is noteworthy that the number of Latin names in circulation did not rise significantly over the period 1130-1260, indicating that merely the frequency of the application of the names increased.

The rise in Latin names corresponded with the rise in the popularity of central saints' names, and appears to have been induced by it. The Germanic names that persisted were usually names charged with a prestigious meaning, usually Christian, and Latin names of Roman origin that did not acquire any Christian significance became increasingly rare. In the last decades of the Kingdom's existence, four out of the five most popular names were saints' names, while at the beginning of the 12th century only one of the top five names was a saint's name: in both these instances the top five names were carried by about a quarter of the population – a clear transformation of the top preferences.

Likewise, most Western European name stocks of the 12th and 13th centuries gravitated toward a distinctively 'Christian' character, and name-givers frequently renounced names of weak or no Christian significance. The Latin society in the East shared this comprehensive trend and therefore seems to unmistakably place itself within its Western European context.

The concentration index, indicating the extent of clustering of choices on the most popular names, shows a relatively stable course in the Latin Kingdom. While it cannot be contested that there was no evolution in the concentration phenomenon, the fluctuations between the six periods and any trend between the beginning of the study period and its end remain weakly significant at most. The relative stability of the concentration phenomenon emerges yet more clearly when holding neutral the

impact of the name John, an increasingly popular name in the Latin Kingdom: without John, the concentration level at the end of the Second Kingdom is almost equal to the level at the beginning of the First Kingdom, and this seems to emphasize the special role played by the name John in the Latin East.

The condensation index, indicating the average number of names for a normalized sample of 100 individuals, shows some fluctuations within the periodical measures of the raw data of the Latin Kingdom. In random and even samples, however, which neutralize the effect of the changing sample size, these fluctuations are flattened. So, like the concentration index, the index of condensation also does not show a clear trend in the Latin Kingdom.

The relative stability expressed by these anthroponymic indexes is partly explained by the role played by the names which are comparatively rare in the Frankish name stock. It seems that the tail of the distribution, claiming and maintaining a significant proportion of the stock (30%-39% of the people over the period of study), hindered the intensification in the concentration and condensation of the name repertory. It should also be noted that the tail itself (defined as names whose frequency was half a percent or less) did not stabilize: about half of the names included in this category changed between one study period and the next. Additionally, more than half of the names in the name stock showed a low survival rate, lasting in the name stock the duration of a generation or two.

These dynamic features of the name stock were somewhat counterbalanced by the stability and the robustness of evolutions in the group defined as 'core names'. This group of names, representing consistently about two-thirds of the Frankish population, shows both high popularity and a high survival rate. It is this group, then, that may explain the relatively high concentration figures in a society whose rates of rare names and degree of dynamism were high.

The anthroponymic measures of the Frankish naming behavior differ from Western European ones. Western European patterns of the 12th and 13th centuries drew gradually toward greater concentration and condensation of choices, showing an increasing preference for a decreasing number of names (i.e. greater homonymity). These trends were supplemented by a decline in the proportion of rare names in Western European name stocks, a decline that did not occur in the Latin Kingdom. The difference between this gradual threefold evolution in Western Europe and the more heterogeneous and dynamic nature of the Frankish name stock, as it unfolds from the anthroponymic measures, may be the result of a difference of the nature of the data set. Many of the Western European studies are monographic in nature, describing an evolution in the naming behavior of residents and descendants of a specific, often rural, community. The Latin Kingdom, on the other hand, had a greater influx of population, which may correspond to the less-static nature of an urban agglomerate, with newcomers introducing regional or familial patterns from

different areas, generating a greater variety of names and perhaps a more dynamic pattern. Indeed, a similarity between the patterns of the Latin Kingdom and studies of semi-urban populations in central and northern Italy was often indicated in the data analysis; this affinity agrees with the mostly urban type of settlement in the Latin Kingdom, which became more distinctive in the 13th century. It also agrees with a social pattern which is necessarily less homogeneous and less traditional than that of the rural communities of Western Europe; moreover, it is reasonable to expect a certain degree of non-traditionalism in individuals driven by a quest for a new life – in a city in Europe or overseas.

The relative stability (or rather non-evolution) of the anthroponymic indexes of concentration and condensation in the Latin Kingdom should not be viewed as a form of stagnation. First, it should be remembered that despite the difference in the processes of concentration and condensation between Western Europe and the Frankish society, the rise in Latin and saints' names (i.e. the typological evolution) was indeed analogous. It seems, as suggested above, that the evolution of the Frankish pattern followed, by and large, the Western European evolution, and that within the group of 'core names' the typological evolutions were robust enough to counterweight the relatively high degree of diversity and dynamism in the rest of the name stock.

Second, the non-evolution in the anthroponymic indexes should be considered alongside the tail of the name distribution, which remained significant and dynamic throughout the period, and held the name stock back from condensing and concentrating. This was different from the evolution of the tail in Western Europe, where it gradually shrank; in the Latin Kingdom, a demographic dynamism prevented this from happening.

Moreover, the difference between the Latin West and the Latin East in the evolution of the anthroponymic patterns on the one hand, and the similarity in the evolution of the typological patterns on the other, seem to underscore the uniqueness of the Frankish names preferences.

In the selection of the most preferred names, the Latins of the East replicated neither the Western nor the Eastern model. The names John, James and Nicholas were the three names that enjoyed an ever-increasing popularity in the Frankish name stock. Starting in the middle of the 12th century, these Latin and saints' names, which have been very current in Oriental-Christian naming traditions for centuries, were rising clearly and constantly in the Frankish name stock throughout the study period, regardless of the differences in their levels of frequency. Likewise, most of the other steadily or increasingly preferred names display parallel attributes. Peter, Philip and Thomas also denoted central saints of Christianity, which were more popular within the Eastern Christian name repertory than in Catholic European name stocks: Peter kept a constant popularity throughout the period, and Philip and Thomas ascended into the ten most popular names by the middle of the 13th century.

Within these central saints' names, the rise of the name John was specifically strong and significant among the Franks. It was the most frequently used name in the Frankish Levant from the 1190s to 1291, as well as the most dominant name in the clergy and in the nobility throughout the whole study period. Following its ascendancy to the top in 1190, its frequency subsequently doubled around 1235. This leap in frequency was not related to any extraneous factor (e.g. rise in concentration) but was an evolution particular to the name itself. The predilection for John is also reflected in its lead rate, which was between 60%-100% above the successive names, this again indicating a special preference.

The preference for John was especially bold among the Frankish nobility, with its major leap in frequency coinciding with the surge of saints' names in this group. John had twice the frequency among the nobles than among the burgesses, with its rate peaking to about 19% at the middle of the 13th century. This cohesive trend of the nobility seems to have been a significant instrument of John's prevalence in the Frankish Kingdom.

Names of central saints did indeed occur in Catholic repertories of the 11th-13th centuries, but in much lower degrees than in the Latin Kingdom, especially before the turn of the 14th century. Both in Europe and in the Latin Kingdom, the rise of central saints names came at the expense of discarding Germanic names, and of Latin names of no or weak religious meaning. But in the Latin Kingdom the prominence of saints' names, and the precocious prestige of central saints' names like John and Peter, James, Nicholas, Philip and Thomas seems to have been injected with added, local, vigour. Evidently, the name-givers in the Latin Kingdom were at the forefront in the great Catholic tide of the name John. The findings show that the rise of John predated many of the European reported findings, and seldom in Catholic Europe did John achieve dominance earlier than it did in the Frankish Kingdom. The example of the city of Rome, where this trend preceded the Latin Kingdom, and where hagionymy had been strong for centuries, casts a distinctive tone on the religiosity of the Franks. The dominance of John in bigger cities around 1300 connects, perhaps, to a fast spread rate in urban areas, both in Western Europe and in the Frankish Levant. In addition, among the Frankish nobility John was uniquely popular, compared to contemporary aristocratic samples in Catholic Europe.

The relative precocious boldness of central saints' names among the Franks and the early prestige of John, in advance of this unfolding and almost universal Catholic trend, suggests a deliberate orientation of attitudes among the Franks in the Levant. Several factors may have contributed to this local preference. One may have been the localized interaction of the Frankish settlers with the indigenous Syrian-Palestinian Christians, an interaction that exposed Catholics (through intermarriage with local Christian, Byzantine and Armenian women, cohabitation in villages and towns or joint commercial activities) to naming fashions that professed a special preference for

central and highly revered figures in Oriental Christian hagiology. The impact of the local encounter needs naturally be seen within the wider context of the impact of the Greek-Orthodox naming tradition in the Mediterranean realm, where preference for saints' names was a centuries-long legacy.

Yet, the attitudes revealed in the name choices of the Franks do not suggest imitative 'orientalization', since some explicitly Western Catholic names, namely William, Hugo, and Henry, featured among the most popular names in the 13th century, alongside those up-and-coming names of central saints'. The nexus with western stocks is revealed, then, in the enduring Frankish preference of strictly 'western' names. It is also manifest in the fact that the saints' names that won particular favour in the Latin Kingdom were not alien to western ears: no name that was unfamiliar in Europe, nor any saint's name that was distinctively Greek or Eastern Christian, rose to high popularity among the Latins.

Another possible contributing factor is the continuous exchange with Italian maritime towns, and the growing Italian presence in the Holy Land in the 13th century, when the Kingdom was confined to coastal ports and heavily dependent on Italian maritime activities. This close exchange could have brought with it an additional, indirect, Greek-Byzantine weight to the Frankish preferences, as central and southern Italy itself had been long before under the Byzantine orbit; this indirect impact could have emboldened the religiously oriented profile of the Frankish name stock and the top preferences. However, it should be remembered that the Italian horizon has its own local particulars, like the popularity of William among the Genoese, that could have produced their own impact.

Finally, the name preferences should be considered as reflecting attitudes of a community with a heightened religious awareness. A product of a movement born with a special religious fervour, and surviving, partly, on expectations of divine favour, the community of *Outremer* carved its own naming pattern. The special role ascribed to the nobility at the inception of the crusading movement, may have created a class consciousness with a specific ideological-religious undertone, reflected in the particular propensities of the Frankish nobility (and absent from the propensities of the members of the military orders).

The specific name choices may be perceived, then, as a deliberate attitude of a self-perceived "pious race"¹, whose religious consciousness was in many cases high to start with, and was nurtured continually by the role it occupied within the Catholic Christendom as defenders of the Holy Land and model Christians.

¹ The words of Foulcher of Chartres describing the mourning of the first Frankish king "*Francorum gens pia fleuit*", *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, (Heidelberg, 1913), book 2, ch. 64, 7.

Postface

Although stretching beyond the focus of this work, several phenomena concerning the use of by-names were discussed in the data analysis. These both enrich the examination of the first-name distribution, and allow the formulation of some hypotheses which may offer avenues to further study, dealing with the differential use of by-names among various social groups and forms of settlement, as well as the relationship between by-names and homonymity.

The findings concerning the use of by-names in the Frankish society show, first, a general increase in their usage over the whole population in the whole period of study, and within every social group. This accords with the general trend found in western Europe, and may bear further evidence of the linkage between the West and its Eastern Mediterranean expansion. The rise in the preponderance of by-names reflects a necessity to identify individuals better; it may be hypothesized that this necessity is correlated with urban life, with a relatively dense population of individuals of many different regional origins and trades who engage in commercial activities that require more documentation and better identification. This line of thought may be supported by the fact that it was the Frankish burgess class that headed the evolution in by-names in the 12th century, with overall higher rates of by-name usage compared with the other social groups. In the 13th century, however, the nobility closed the gap and caught up with the evolution, presenting higher rates of by-names than the other groups. Another group that shows a significant increase in the use of by-names around the middle of the 13th century is the military orders, representing the least indigenous element in the Frankish society. Future research focussed on by-names would provide finer analyses of these trends and suggest their reasons. It may also shed light on the imitation mechanism in the spread of by-names, which is sometimes suggested as the mode of by-name diffusion in Western society, and on the role of urban society in fusing trends.

Several findings in this study also support the correlation between homonymity and by-naming, which has been inconclusive in western European findings. It was shown that individuals who had by-names used a smaller stock of names than individuals without by-names. This indicates that people with by-names, having another token of identification, used the most popular names more often than people without last names, or vice-versa that people carrying a popular name needed an additional descriptor. In a name stock rife with saints' names, naturally a finite repertory, and with the marked proliferation of the name John from the middle of the 13th century,

the phenomena of homonymity, hagnonymy and by-names appear to be interrelated. The findings concerning the group of core-name holders with its robust trends in typological evolutions (increase in Latin names, decrease in Germanic names, and increase in saints' names), in the concentration and in by-naming – suggests the possible interrelationship between the evolutions, but subsequent analysis, especially comparative, may provide firmer grounds for solid conclusions.

Appendix 1 Top five names by group and period in the Latin Kingdom

	1100–1129		1130–1159		1160–1187		1188–1219 1		220–1259		1260–1291	
Church		123		140		314		99		210		175
	William	8.1%	William	7.9%	Peter	9.6%	Peter	13.1%	John	10.5%	John	13.1%
	Peter	6.5%	John	7.1%	John	8.6%	Ralph	11.1%	William	7.1%	William	7.4%
	Hugh	4.9%	Peter	6.4%	William	6.4%	John	8.1%	Peter	6.2%	James	5.7%
	Stephen	4.1%	Stephen	5.7%	Bernard	4.1%	Baldwin	3.0%	Gerald	4.3%	Peter	4.6%
	Pons	3.3%	Gerald	5.0%	Gerald	4.1%	Geoffrey	3.0%	Hugh	4.3%	Nicholas	4.0%
Nobility		74		158		305		129		296		119
	Hugh	6.8%	William	8.2%	Hugh	7.5%	John	7.8%	John	18.6%	John	17.6%
	Baldwin	5.4%	Robert	4.4%	William	4.9%	William	5.4%	Hugh	5.4%	Guy	6.7%
	Gerald	5.4%	Walter	3.8%	Reynald	4.9%	Henry	5.4%	Henry	5.1%	Peter	5.9%
	Guy	5.4%	Geoffrey	3.8%	Raymond	3.9%	Thomas	4.7%	William	3.7%	Philip	5.0%
	William	5.4%	Peter	3.8%	Baldwin	3.6%	Ralph	3.9%	Philip	3.7%	William	4.2%
Burgess		40		199		142		13		22		18
	Peter	12.5%	Peter	9.5%	Peter	12.0%	Theodore	15.4%	John	13.6%	John	11.1%
	Berenger	5.0%	William	8.0%	John	7.0%	John	7.7%	Raymond	9.1%	Raymond	11.1%
	Geoffrey	5.0%	Bernard	7.0%	Bernard	6.3%	Peter	7.7%	William	4.5%	Andrew	5.6%
	Ralph	5.0%	Gerald	4.0%	William	5.6%	Reynald	7.7%	James	4.5%	Arnulf	5.6%
	Robert	5.0%	John	4.0%	Guy	4.2%	Robert	7.7%	Stephen	4.5%	Geoffrey	5.6%
Orders		19		83		187		123		189		111
	Raymond	26.3%	Gerald	13.3%	William	8.0%	William	8.1%	William	10.1%	William	12.6%
	Peter	21.1%	Peter	8.4%	Peter	8.0%	Peter	5.7%	John	7.9%	John	5.4%
	Gerald	10.5%	Raymond	8.4%	Bernard	7.0%	Robert	4.9%	Peter	7.4%	Hugh	4.5%
	Acelinus	5.3%	William	7.2%	Stephen	5.3%	Geoffrey	4.1%	Henry	5.8%	Peter	3.6%
	Baldwin	5.3%	Stephen	7.2%	Hugh	3.2%	Simon	3.3%	Gerald	3.7%	Reynald	3.6%
'Others'		309		467		825		402		546		340
	William	6.5%	Peter	6.9%	John	6.8%	John	7.2%	John	12.5%	John	9.1%
	Robert	5.2%	William	5.8%	Peter	6.2%	William	6.5%	William	6.2%	James	5.9%
	Hugh	4.9%	John	4.3%	William	5.9%	Peter	5.7%	Peter	4.4%	Peter	5.6%
	Peter	4.2%	Hugh	3.9%	Raymond	3.6%	Hugh	3.0%	James	3.7%	William	4.4%
	Walter	3.6%	Walter	3.6%	Hugh	3.2%	Raymond	2.7%	Hugh	2.9%	Nicholas	3.2%

Appendix 2 Proportion of rare names (names that occur once in each chronological section)

	1100-1130	1130-1160	1160-1190	1190-1220	1220-1259	1260-1291
Frankish Kingdom	20.9%	14.2%	12.0%	17.0%	15.0%	21.4%
Burgundy	8.8%	20.0%	14.0%	14.4%	12.2%	7.4%
Auch	14.6%	11.9%	12.3%	14.9%	14.4%	9.0%
Agde	9.0%	4.0%	6.0%	3.0%		
Paris						43.4%
Emilia	17.5%	35.4%	32.0%	28.9%	34.2%	
Rome	18.8%	16.0%	16.3%	9.7%	7.6%	
Bury St Edmunds	13.6%					

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This study examines a central question in the history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: to what extent did the Frankish settlers in the East preserve European patterns and traditions, and to what extent did they assimilate elements from their new, Levantine environment?

The study approaches this question by employing an analysis of the personal names of the inhabitants in the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1099–1291. The anthroponymic analysis offers a novel way to explore the nature of the Frankish society both in comparison with contemporary European societies, and in relation to the immigrants' new surroundings. It reveals trends unknown so far and compares them with the dominant ones in contemporary Catholic Europe.

This book makes an important contribution to the socio-cultural study of the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem, as well as to the comparative study of personal names in general.

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